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N.o 3 the late occurrence in North America and policy of Great Britain Considered.

N.o 4 Account of a late Conference on the occurrences in America in a Letter to a friend

N.o 5 the Rights of Parliament vindicate on occasion of the late Stamp act in which is exposed the Conduc of the American Colonists..

N.o 6 An Application of some General Political Rules to the present State of Great Britain Ireland and America - - - - - - - - - -

N.o 7. A Short history of the Conduct of the present Ministery with Regard to the American Stamp Act

A

COLLECTION

Of the moſt

INTERESTING

TRACTS,

On the SUBJECTS of

TAXING the *American* Colonies,

AND

REGULATING their TRADE.

The bent and genius of the age is beſt known in a free country, by the PAMPHLETS *and papers that daily come out, as the ſenſe of parties, and ſometimes the voice of the nation.*

KNAPTON's Regiſter.

In TWO VOLUMES.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ALMON, oppoſite Burlington-Houſe in Piccadilly.

M.DCC.LXVI.

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An Application of some general Political Rules to Great Britain, Ireland, and America.

A short History of the Conduct of the New Ministry, with regard to the Affairs of America.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THESE TRACTS having been eſteemed by the Public ſuperior to the many others on the ſame Subjects, it was thought neceſſary to collect them into Volumes; in order that they may be more conveniently preſerved for the Uſe of thoſe Gentlemen, who either now are, or may hereafter, become intereſted in theſe important Affairs.

THE

LATE REGULATIONS,

OF THE

Britiſh Colonies

CONSIDERED.

[Price One Shilling and Six-pence.]

THE

LATE REGULATIONS,

RESPECTING THE

Britiſh Colonies

ON THE CONTINENT OF

AMERICA

CONSIDERED:

In a LETTER from a Gentleman in PHILADELPHIA to his Friend in LONDON.

Proſunt minus recte excogitata; cum alios incitent ſaltem ad veritatis inveſtigationem. FULB. A BARTOL.

PHILADELPHIA Printed:

LONDON Re-printed, for J. ALMON, oppoſite Burlington-Houſe, in Piccadilly. M.DCC.LXV.

THE LATE REGULATIONS, RESPECTING THE British Colonies, CONSIDERED.

SIR,

WHEN I laſt wrote to you, and ſaid, " that the late meaſures reſpecting America, would not only be extremely injurious to the Colonies, but alſo to Great Britain," I little thought I was entering into an engagement, which would oblige me to exceed the uſual limits of a letter: but ſince you deſire to have at large the reaſons in ſupport of this opinion, and I always think it my duty to comply with

with your requeſts, I will endeavour in the cleareſt manner I can, to lay my ſentiments before you.

The American continental colonies are inhabited by perſons of ſmall fortunes, who *are* ſo cloſely employed in ſubduing a wild country, for their ſubſiſtence, and who *would* labour under ſuch difficulties in contending with old and populous countries, which muſt exceed them in workmanſhip and cheapneſs, that they have not time nor any temptation to apply themſelves to manufactures.

Hence ariſes the * importance of the colonies

* It has been ſaid in the Houſe of Commons, when complaints have been made of the decay of trade to any part of Europe, " That ſuch things were not worth regard, as Great Britain was poſſeſſed of colonies that could conſume more of her manufactures than ſhe was able to ſupply them with.

" As the caſe now ſtands, we ſhall ſhew, that the plantations are a ſpring of wealth to this nation, that they work for us, that their treaſure centers all here, and that the laws have tied them faſt enough to us; ſo that it muſt be through our own fault and miſmanagement, if they become independent of England.

DAVENANT on the Plantation Trade.

" It is better that the iſlands ſhould be ſupplied from

nies to Great Britain. Her proſperity depends on her commerce; her commerce on her manufactures; her manufactures

from the northern colonies than from England, for this reaſon, the proviſions we might ſend to Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c. would be unimproved product of the earth, as grain of all kinds, or ſuch product where there is little got by the improvement, as malt, ſalt, beef, and pork; indeed the exportation of ſalt-fiſh thither would be more advantageous, but the goods which we ſend to the northern colonies are ſuch, whoſe improvement may be juſtly ſaid, one with another, to be near four-fifths of the value of the whole commodity, as apparel, houſhold-furniture, and many other things." *Idem.*

" New England is the moſt prejudicial plantation to the kingdom of England; and yet, to do right to that moſt induſtrious Engliſh colony, I muſt confeſs, that though we loſe by their unlimited trade with other foreign plantations, yet we are very great gainers by their direct trade to and from Old England. Our yearly exportations of Engliſh manufactures, malt and other goods, from hence thither, amounting, in my opinion, to ten times the value of what is imported from thence; which calculation I do not make at random, but upon mature conſideration, and, peradventure, upon as much experience in this very trade as any other perſon will pretend to; and therefore, whenever reformation of our correſpondency in trade with that people ſhall be thought on, it will, in my poor judgment, require great tenderneſs, and very ſerious circumſpection."

Sir Josiah Child's Diſcourſe on Trade.

" Our plantations ſpend moſtly our Engliſh manufactures, and thoſe of all ſorts almoſt imaginable, in egregious quantities, and employ near two-thirds of all

tures on the markets for them; and the moſt conſtant and advantageous markets are afforded by the colonies, as in all others the

all our Engliſh ſhipping; ſo that we have more people in England, by reaſon of our plantations in America."

Idem.

Sir Joſiah Child ſays, in another part of his work, "That not more than fifty families are maintained in England by the refining of ſugar." From whence, and from what Davenant ſays, it is plain, that the advantages here ſaid to be derived from the plantations by England, muſt be meant chiefly of the continental colonies. *See notes to pages* 12 *and* 13.

"I ſhall ſum up my whole remarks on our American colonies with this obſervation, that as they are a certain annual revenue of ſeveral millions ſterling to their mother country, they ought carefully to be protected, duly encouraged, and every opportunity that preſents improved for their increaſement and advantage, as every one they can poſſibly reap muſt at laſt return to us with intereſt."

BEAWES's Lex. Merc. Red.

"We may ſafely advance, that our trade and navigation are greatly encreaſed by our colonies, and that they really are a ſource of treaſure and naval power to this kingdom, ſince they work for us, and their treaſure centers here. Before their ſettlement our manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent; the number of Engliſh merchants very ſmall, and the whole ſhipping of the nation much inferior to what now belongs to the northern colonies only. Theſe are certain facts. But ſince their eſtabliſhment our condition has altered for the better, almoſt to a degree beyond credibility. Our manufactures are prodigiouſly encreaſed, chiefly by the demand for them in the plantations, where they at leaſt take off one-half, and ſup-

ply

the ‡ reſt of Europe interferes with her, and various accidents may interrupt them. The benefit from hence is at *preſent* immenſe; but in *future* times, when America ſhall be more fully peopled, muſt exceed with prudent management the warmeſt wiſhes of a Britiſh patriot.

Our chief productions are proviſions, naval ſtores, furs, iron and lumber. A few colonies yield tobacco and indigo. Some of theſe commodities are neceſſary to Great Britain; but all that ſhe requires are vaſtly inſufficient to pay for her manufactures which we want. The productions of ſome of the ſouthern colonies may perhaps be equal to their demands, but the caſe is widely different with the northern; for in theſe,

ply us with many valuable commodities for exportation, which is as great an emolument to the mother kingdom, as to the plantations themſelves."

POSTLETHWAYT's Dict. of Trade and Com.

‡ "Moſt of the nations of Europe have interfered with us, more or leſs, in divers of our ſtaple manufactures, within half a century, not only in our woollen, but in our lead and tin manufactures, as well as our fiſheries."

POSTLETHWAYT, *ibid.*

the importations from Great Britain are computed to be generally more than double the value of their immediate exportations to that kingdom.

The only expedient left us for making our remittances, is to carry on ſome other trade, whereby we can obtain ſilver and gold, which our own country does not afford. Hence it is evident, that if our taking off and paying for her manufactures, is beneficial to Great Britain, the channels by which we acquire money for that purpoſe, ought to be induſtriouſly kept open and uninterrupted.

Our trade with Spain, Portugal, and the foreign plantations in the Weſt Indies, have chiefly anſwered this end, though with much difficulty, the mother-country having long ſince drawn the * commercial cords with

* As far as regulations are requiſite to confine the commerce of the colonies to Britiſh ſubjects and to Britiſh ſhips, to give Great Britain the preference in being ſupplied with naval ſtores, ſo eſſential to her ſtrength at ſea, with commodities neceſſary for carrying on her woollen manufactures, or ſuch articles as can bear high duties upon them, and thereby make a

con-

which the colonies are bound, extremely tight upon them. Every thing produced *here*, that Great Britain chuſes to take to herſelf, muſt be carried to that kingdom † *only*—Every thing we chuſe to import from

conſiderable addition to the revenue, or, as far as they are requiſite, to prevent the colonies from being ſupplied with any thing in the place of Britiſh manufactures, they may be reaſonable. Theſe regulations, it is apprehended, eſtabliſh the baſis of the Britiſh power, and form ſuch a firm connection between the mother country and her colonies, as will produce all the advantages ſhe ought to wiſh for, or that they can afford her. Any further attempt to ſhackle ſome of the colonies in favour of others, or to advance the revenue in America by reſtraining her trade, is but regulating, by a ſevere exerciſe of power, what wants no regulation, and loſing by too much haſte to gain. (*See notes to pages* 25, 26.) Unneceſſary and irritating reſtrictions will at laſt caſt contempt and hatred on thoſe ſubſtantial ones, that length of time, and the natural reverence of colonies for their mother country, would have conſecrated; for diſcontented minds are not apt to diſtinguiſh. "Narrow limited notions in trade and planting are only advanced by, and can only be of uſe to particular perſons, but are always injurious to the public intereſts, in preventing the full employment of our own people, and giving our rivals and competitors in trade the opportunity of employing greater numbers of theirs, producing greater quantities of merchandizes, and underſelling us at foreign markets." POSTLETHWAYT's Dict. of Trade and Com.

† Monteſquieu, ſpeaking of the contract made by Poland for ſelling all her corn to Dantzick only; and another of the like nature between ſome Indian Princes and

from Europe, muſt be ſhipped in * Great Britain—Heavy duties have been laid on our importations from the foreign plantations.

However, under all theſe reſtraints, and ſome others that have been impoſed on us, we have not till lately been unhappy. Our ſpirits were not depreſſed. We apprehended no deſign formed againſt our liberty. We for a long time enjoyed peace, and were quite free from any heavy debt, either internal or external. We had a paper currency which ſerved as a medium of domeſtic commerce, and permitted us to employ all the gold and ſilver we could acquire, in trade abroad. We had a multitude of markets

and the Dutch for ſpices, ſays, " Theſe agreements are proper for a poor nation, whoſe inhabitants are ſatisfied to forego the hopes of enriching themſelves, provided they can be ſecure of a certain ſubſiſtence; or for nations, whoſe ſlavery conſiſts either in renouncing the uſe of thoſe things which nature has given them, or in being obliged to ſubmit to a diſadvantageous commerce."

* Except ſalt from any part of Europe for the fiſheries of Newfoundland, New-England, New-York, and Penſylvania, and a few things from Ireland.

for

for our proviſions, lumber and iron. Theſe allowed liberties, with ſome others we aſſumed, enabled us to collect conſiderable ſums of money for the joint benefit of ourſelves and our mother-country.

But the modern regulations are in every circumſtance afflicting. The remittances we have been able to make to Great Britain, with all the licence hitherto granted or taken, and all the money brought among us in the courſe of the late war, have not been ſufficient to pay her what we owe; but there ſtill remains due, according to a late calculation made by the Engliſh merchants, the ſum of four millions ſterling. Beſides this, we are and have been for many years heavily taxed for the payment of the debts contracted by our efforts againſt the common enemy. Theſe ſeem to be difficulties ſevere enough for young colonies to contend with. The laſt * ſinks our paper currency very

* While the quantity of paper currency is proportioned to the uſes for it, it muſt be beneficial; and therefore to ſink it below that quantity muſt be prejudicial.

faſt

faſt. The former ſweeps off our ſilver and gold in a torrent to Great Britain, and leaves us continually toiling to ſupply from a number of diſtant ſprings the continually waſting ſtream.

Thus drained, we are prohibited by new and ſtricter reſtraints being laid on our trade, from procuring theſe coins as we uſed to do; and from inſtituting among ourſelves bills of credit in the place of ſuch portions of them as are required in our internal traffic; and in this exhauſted condition, our languiſhing country is to ſtrive to take up and to totter under the additional burthen of the *Stamp Act*.

In defence of the prohibition to inſtitute *bills of credit*, it may be ſaid, "that ſome few colonies, by injudicious emiſſions of paper currency, did great injury to individuals." It is true: but it is as true, that others ‡ always ſupported the credit of their

‡ No attempt was ever made in this province, and ſome others, to pay Engliſh debts any otherwiſe than according to the rate of Exchange; and no complaint was ever made of injuſtice from the depreciation of the currency.

bills in ſuch a manner, that their emiſſions were of vaſt benefit both to the provinces and to Great Britain. The inconveniencies under which the colonies laboured before theſe emiſſions, are well remembered, and were produced by the ſame cauſe that diſtreſſes us at this time; that is, by Great Britain's taking off all our gold and ſilver. There was then ſo little money among ſeveral of them, that a ſtop was put in a manner to buying and ſelling, and even ſhopkeepers were obliged to barter their goods for food. The effect produced by theſe emiſſions was ſurprizing—Trade revived; and the remarkable and immediate || increaſe

|| Value of the exports from England to Penſylvania at different periods.

In	1723	they were	£15,992	19	4
	1730	- -	48,592	7	5
	1737	- -	56,690	6	7
	1742	- -	75,295	3	4

In the year 1723 the firſt bills of credit were emitted in Penſylvania to the value of 45000l. In 1728, part of the firſt emiſſion being then ſunk, 30000l. more were emitted. It appears from the account above, that in ſeven years, from 1723 to 1730, the exports increaſed £32,599 8 1 ſterling. In 1738, great part of the preceding emiſſions being then ſunk, there was an

creaſe of our importations ſhewed how advantageous they were to Great Britain. If any inconveniences were feared from this kind of curreney, means might have been found to prevent them, without utterly aboliſhing it: but now, the apprehenſion of miſchiefs that might have been more eaſily obviated, has deprived us of real benefits.

Perhaps no mode could be deviſed more advantageous to the public, or to individuals, than

an emiſſion, and re-emiſſion, amounting in the whole to 80000l. In five years afterwards, it appears by the account above, the exports increaſed near 20000l. ſterling.

In later times, when larger emiſſions have been made, the exports have proportionably increaſed. In 1755, 55000l. were emitted: and in 1756, 30000l. In 1757, the exports amounted to £268,426 6 6. Afterwards our emiſſions were ſtill greater, and in one year of the war, the exports roſe to more than 700,000l. ſterling.

It is not pretented, that the inereaſe of our importations is ſolely owing to the emiſſions of paper money, but it is thought to be a very great cauſe of that increaſe. It is undoubtedly owing in part to the increaſe of people by propagation, and the influx of foreigners. But ſuch great and ſudden increaſes as have been mentioned in the ſhort ſpace of ſeven or five years, from 1723 to 1730, and from 1737 to 1742, could not, in any great degree, proceed from the increaſe by propagation; and at that time I think foreigners did not

flow

than our method of emitting bills in this province for our own uſe. They are lent out upon good ſecurity, chiefly real, at the intereſt of 5 *per cent*. The borrowers are allowed a long term for payment, and the ſums borrowed being divided into equal portions, they are obliged to pay one of theſe with the intereſt of the whole, every year during the term.

flow in upon us in ſuch numbers as they ſince have done. In the war large ſums were brought among us for the maintenance of the fleets and armies, it is true; but that our currency was then of great utility is evident, becauſe when the greateſt quantity of it was paſſing, bills of exchange were lower than they were for a long time before, or have been ſince.

It may be objected, that the complaint of the ſcarcity of money in America, particularly in this province, cannot be well founded, as we have lately had ſuch large emiſſions. I am very ſenſible how liable perſons are to errors in queſtions of this nature, and therefore I think myſelf obliged to ſpeak with diffidence on the ſubject. Perhaps the following obſervations may in ſome meaſure anſwer the objection. 1ſt. About one-half of the emiſſions is ſunk. 2dly. A very great part of the bills now circulating are paſſing in the neighbouring provinces. 3dly. Our gold and ſilver are ſent to Great Britain, ſo that but ſmall quantities thereof are now current among us; and therefore we muſt almoſt entirely rely on our paper for the medium of domeſtic commerce. Laſtly, It does not ſeem probable, that we ſhould have heard ſuch great complaints of the ſcarcity of money, if the extreme reſtrictions of our commerce, had not ſo generally prevented our uſual methods of acquiring it.

This renders payments very eaſy; and as no perſon is permitted to borrow a large ſum, a great number are accommodated. The conſequences of ſuch regulations are obvious. Theſe bills repreſent money in the ſame manner that money repreſents other things. As long therefore as the quantity is proportioned to the uſes, theſe emiſſions have the ſame effects, that the gradual introduction of additional ſums of money would have. People of very ſmall fortunes are enabled to purchaſe and cultivate land, which is of ſo much conſequence in ſettling new countries, or to carry on ſome buſineſs, that without ſuch aſſiſtance they would be incapable of managing: for no private perſon would lend money on ſuch favourable terms. From the borrowers the currency paſſes into other hands, encreaſes conſumption, raiſes the prices of commodities, quickens circulation, and, after communicating a vigour to all kinds of induſtry, returns in its courſe into the poſſeſſion of the

borrowers, to repay them for that labour. which it may properly be ſaid to have produced. They deliver it, according to the original contracts, into the treaſury, where the intereſt raiſes a fund, without the impoſition of taxes, for the public uſe.

While emiſſions are thus conducted with prudence, they may be compared to ſprings, whoſe water an iduſtrious and knowing farmer ſpreads in many meandering rivulets through his gardens and meadows, and after it has refreſhed all the vegetable tribes it meets with, and has ſet them a growing, leads it into a reſervoir, where it anſwers ſome new purpoſe.

If it could be poſſible to eſtabliſh a currency throughout the colonies on ſome foundation of this kind, perhaps greater benefits might be derived from it, than would be generally believed without the trial.

With reſpect to the reſtrictions laid on our trade to foreign plantations, it has been

alledged as a reaſon for them, " that our iſlands ought to be encouraged." They ought to be: but ſhould the intereſt of one colony be preferred to that of another? Should the welfare of millions be ſacrificed to the magnificence of a few? If the exorbitant profits of one colony muſt ariſe from the depreſſion of another, ſhould not ſuch injuſtice be redreſſed?

There is a vaſt difference to be made in calculating the gains of any particular branch of buſineſs to the public, and to individuals. The advantages to the laſt may be ſmall, and yet great to the firſt, or the reverſe. The ſtatutes made to reſtrain the trade of the continent in * favour of the iſlands,

* " The agents for New York, in their conteſt with the ſugar colonies, affirmed, That their winters being ſevere, obliged them to take off more of the woolen manufactures of this kingdom *(for which they remitted gold and ſilver)* than all the iſlands (Jamaica excepted) put together; and which I believe has remained uncontradicted."

BEAWES's Lex Merc. Red.

If one province then exceeded all our Weſt Indies, except Jamaica, in this particular, what proportion would

iſlands, ſeem to tend rather towards promoting

would that ſingle iſland bear now to all the reſt of the continental colonies?

The following account of the exports from England to the Northern Colonies, and to the Weſt India iſlands, will ſhew they were nearly equal ſome time ago; that thoſe to the Northern colonies now vaſtly exceed, and are prodigiouſly encreaſing, while thoſe to the iſlands have continued nearly the ſame.

From 1744 to 1748, incluſive.

	Northern Colonies.				*Weſt India Iſlands.*		
1744	£640,114	12	4		£796,112	17	9
1745	534,316	2	5		503,669	19	9
1746	754,945	4	3		472,994	19	7
1747	726,648	5	5		856,463	18	6
1748	830,243	16	9		734,095	15	3
Total	£3,486,268	1	2	Total	£3,363,337	10	10
				Difference	122 930	10	4
					£3,486,268	1	2

From 1754 to 1758, incluſive.

	Northern Colonies.				*Weſt India Iſlands.*		
1754	£1,246,615	1	11		£685,675	3	0
1755	1,177,848	6	10		694,667	13	3
1756	1,428,720	18	10		733,458	16	3
1757	1,727,924	2	10		776,488	0	6
1758	1,832,948	13	10		877,571	19	11
Total	£7,414,057	4	3	Tot.	£3,767,841	12	11
				Difference	3,646,215	11	4
					£7,414,057	4	3

Tot. for the Northern Colonies in the firſt term — —	£3,486,268	1	2
Ditto, in the ſecond term —	7,414,057	4	3
Increaſe,	£3,927,789	3	1

noting ‡ partial than general intereſts ; and it appears to me no paradox to ſay, that the public would be as great a gainer, if eſtates there were ſo * moderate, that not a tenth part of the Weſt India gentlemen, who

Total for the Weſt India Iſlands,		
in the firſt term	—	£3,363,337 10 10
Ditto, in the ſecond term	—	3,767,841 12 11
Increaſe, only		£0,404,504 2 1

The difference between the employment afforded to the manufacturers of England, by the Northern Colonies and by the Weſt India Iſlands, is ſtill greater than it may appear to be from the firſt view of the preceding account: for a much greater quantity of Eaſt India goods is exported to the laſt than to the firſt; and the Engliſh manufactures conſumed by them generally derive their value from the richneſs of the materials, many of which are brought from foreign countries, but thoſe we conſume, chiefly derive their value from the work beſtowed upon them. *(Vide note to page 5.)*

‡ *Vide note to page 10.*

* " A great advantage which the French have over the Engliſh in their ſugar colonies, is their Agrarian law, whereby monopoliſts are prevented from engroſſing too much land; ſo that the number of whites is greatly encreaſed, the land much improved, more commodities raiſed, the planters obliged to a more frugal way of living, and all things rendered cheaper. By theſe means Martinico can muſter 16,000 fighting men; but Jamaica, which is near three times as large, only 4000."

TUCKER on trade.

now ſit in the Houſe of Commons, could obtain that frequently expenſive honour.

It is allowed by thoſe well acquainted with the iſlands, that they cannot ſupply Great Britain, and theſe colonies, with ſugar and other articles, and that they can by no means conſume the productions of theſe colonies; yet in * favour to them we are almoſt entirely prevented from ſending

* It is recited in the 6th of Geo. II. ch. 13, now made perpetual, "that the ſugar colonies could not carry on their trade on an equal footing with the foreign ſugar colonies, without ſome advantage and relief given to them by Great Britain." That advantage given by Great Britain was to compel the continental colonies to take their productions at any price they pleaſe to aſk. In ſhort, to grant them a monopoly for ſugar. This was taking from one indeed to give to another; but goes not to the root of the evil; as the next preceding note evidently ſhews. For if Great Britain ſhould ſacrifice her own intereſts and thoſe of her continental colonies ſtill more, if it be poſſible, to the intereſt of theſe iſlanders, they never will "carry on their trade on an equal footing with the foreign ſugar colonies," until there is the ſame moderation in their eſtates, and the ſame frugality in their living. By a very ſingular diſpoſition of affairs, the colonies of an abſolute monarchy are ſettled on a republican principle; while thoſe of a kingdom in many reſpects reſembling a commonwealth, are cantoned out among a few lords, veſted with deſpotic power over myriads of vaſſals, and ſupported in the pomp of baſhaws by their ſlavery.

theſe productions to any other markets. Hence it follows, that we are frequently obliged to ſell our commodities to them at ſo low a price as not to pay the firſt coſt and freight; while we, being in a manner prohibited from getting the Weſt India productions, for which we have occaſion, any where elſe but from them, muſt pay extravagantly for them.

Nor is this management attended, as it is preſumed, with any benefit to the mother country, but with a diſadvantage either where the productions of the foreign plantations are conſumed among us, or re-exported to Europe. By the compulſion on us to take from our iſlands, the price of their productions is raiſed on the people of Great Britain. The revenue would be encreaſed by this reſtriction being taken off, as we ſhould willingly pay a moderate duty upon importations from the French and Spaniards, without attempting to run them; while a very conſiderable duty would be

paid

paid on the † ſugars of our iſlands, which, inſtead of coming to us, would then go to Great Britain. Beſides, whatever extraordinary price we pay for the productions of our own iſlands, muſt leſſen our demand for Britiſh manufactures; ſince it is an ‖ undeniable

† The reſtriction on the trade of the colonies to foreign plantations for melaſſes, is particularly grievous and impolitic, as the melaſſes brought from thence was diſtilled for the fiſheries, the Indian and Guinea trades, the profit of which centered in Great Britain. It is ſaid, our veſſels now buy ſpirituous liquors on the coaſt of Guinea from the Dutch.

‖ This cannot be diſputed by any one who is acquainted with America. The increaſe of a man's wealth there ſhews itſelf in a greater conſumption of Britiſh manufactures of all kinds.—This reaſoning in favour of the continental colonies trade with foreign plantations, is confirmed by what Sir Joſiah Child mentions of N. England.—He ſays, "England loſes by the unlimited trade of this colony to other foreign plantations, but gains by her direct trade to Old England, from whence ſhe exports manufactures to ten times the value of her imports." *(See the note to page 5.)* What was it then that enabled New England to pay ten times the value of her imports to England, but the profits of her trade to foreign plantations? This appears to be a direct authority in ſupport of the arguments hereafter uſed. It ſeems, therefore, that Great Britain of late, through too great eagerneſs to gather golden fruits, has ſhaken the tree before they were full grown. With a little patience they would ripen, and then of themſelves drop into her lap.

undeniable truth, that what we ſhould ſave in that way would be chiefly ſpent in this. It may alſo be added, that our commerce with the foreign plantations carries to them

" The inhabitants of our colonies, by carrying on a trade with their foreign neighbours, do not only occaſion a greater quantity of the goods and merchandizes of Europe being ſent from hence to them, and a greater quantity of the product of America to be ſent from them hither, which would otherwiſe be carried from, and brought to Europe by foreigners, but an increaſe of the ſeamen and navigation in thoſe parts, which is of great ſtrength and ſecurity, as well as of great advantage to our plantations in general. And though ſome of our colonies are not only for preventing the importations of all goods of the ſame ſpecies they produce, but ſuffer particular planters to keep great runs of land in their poſſeſſion uncultivated, with deſign to prevent new ſettlements, whereby they imagine the prices of their commodities may be affected; yet if it be conſidered, that the markets of Great Britain depend on the markets of all Europe in general, and that the European markets in general depend on the proportion between the annual conſumption and the whole quantity of each ſpecies annually produced by all nations; it muſt follow, that whether we or foreigners are the producers, carriers, importers and exporters of American produce, yet their reſpective prices in each colony (the difference of freight, cuſtoms and importations conſidered) will always bear proportion to the general conſumption of the whole quantity of each ſort, produced in all colonies, and in all parts, allowing only for the uſual contingencies that trade and commerce, agriculture and manufactures are liable to in all countries."

POSTLETHWAYT's Univ. Dict. of Trade and Commerce.

very

very conſiderable quantities of Britiſh manufactures for their conſumption. *

If our importations from them ſhould be re-exported to Europe, the profits would center in Great Britain, according to the uſual courſe of our trade. The ſtatute paſſed in the twenty-fifth year of Charles the ſecond, indeed mentions this practice as injurious. It might be ſo, if regarded without its attendant circumſtances; but if they are taken into view, and it be conſidered, that if we do not carry theſe productions to Europe, foreigners will, no miſchief ſeems likely to enſue from our becoming the carriers. §

The reſtriction alſo with regard to our iron is thought particularly ſevere. Whenever we can get a better price in Great Britain than elſewhere, it is unneceſſary; whenever we can get a better price in other

* See the preceding note.

† See the preceding note.

places,

places, it is ‡ prejudicial. Cargoes compoſed of this metal, proviſions, and lumber, have been found to anſwer very well at the Portugueſe and ſome other markets; and as the laſt articles are frequently very low, and our foreign trade is reduced to ſo few commodities, the taking away any one of them muſt be hurtful to us. Indeed, to require us to ſend all our iron to Great

‡ If Great-Britain really takes off from Sweden iron to the value of £200,000, according to the calculation that has been made, yet ſhe does not loſe all that ſum. Not to inſiſt on the merely political advantage of having a commerce with that proteſtant kingdom, which by being beneficial to her, may more firmly attach her to our intereſt, it may be obſerved, that the trade of Great-Britain to Sweden, it is for iron in the groſs, which is afterwards worked up, and large quantities of it re-exported; ſo that money may thereby be brought into the kingdom, and a great number of hands is employed. There is a vaſt difference between this trade, and that to France, from whence the importations into Great-Britain are merely for conſumption, without affording any employment to her people, or any profit by re-exportation. Beſides, if the colonies can get more by carrying their iron to foreign ports, than to Great-Britain, (and if they cannot, there is no occaſion of a law to compel them to carry it to Great-Britain) they will be more able to make larger demands for Britiſh manufactures; ſo that Great-Britain will gain the profits of our iron, to make up her loſs by what ſhe takes from Sweden.

Britain, is, in the opinion of ſome of our moſt judicious merchants, to require an impoſſibility : for as this article is ſo heavy, and ſuch ſmall quantities can be ſent in one veſſel, they aſſert, that we cannot find freight directly home for one half of it.

Beſides the circumſtances already mentioned to prove the injurious conſequences of the late reſtrictions, there is another, which has great force in perſuading me, that our trade ought by all means to be more encouraged and extended at this time than was formerly neceſſary. Our ſettlements then comprehended only a narrow ſtrip along the ſhore of the ocean ; they were leſs populous ; and their diſtance from the ſea ports being ſmall, they were ſupplied with every thing they wanted from thence, without any length of inland carriage. But now we have penetrated boundleſs foreſts, have paſſed over immenſe mountains, and are daily puſhing further and further into the wilderneſs, the inhabitants,

bitants of theſe remote regions muſt of neceſſity hold very little intercourſe with thoſe which are near the ſea, unleſs a very extenſive commerce ſhall enable theſe to ſupply them with ſuch quantities of ‡ foreign commodities as they want, and at ſuch prices as they can afford to pay. Every reſtriction on our trade ſeems to be a reſtriction on this intercourſe, and muſt gradually cut off the connection of the interior parts with the maritime and the mother country.

But it is unneceſſary to endeavour to prove, by reaſoning on theſe things, that we ſhall ſuffer, for we already ſuffer. Trade is decaying, and all credit is expiring. ‖ Money is become ſo extremely ſcarce,

‡ It is apprehended, that if the greateſt part of the commodities demanded by the back country ſhould not be Britiſh but Weſt-Indian, yet it muſt be beneficial to Great-Britain to promote this trade by all means. For if the country nearer the ſea grows rich by ſupplying them with the productions of the Weſt-Indies, theſe will certainly conſume greater quantities of Britiſh manufactures.

‖ It is ſaid that in Virginia, the ſheriffs, inſtead of raiſing the annual levies, have been obliged to make returns into the treaſury, of effects which they have taken in execution, but could not ſell, as there were no bidders for ready money.

that reputable freeholders find it impoſſible to pay debts which are trifling in compariſon to their eſtates. If creditors ſue and take out executions, the lands and perſonal eſtate, as the ſale muſt be for ready-money, are ſold for a ſmall part of what they were worth when the debts were contracted. The debtors are ruined. The creditors get but part of their debts, and that ruins them. Thus the conſumers break the ſhop-keepers; they break the merchants; and the ſhock muſt be felt as far as London. Fortunate, indeed, is the man who can get ſatisfaction in money for any part of his debt in ſome counties; for in many inſtances, after lands and goods have been repeatedly advertiſed in the public gazettes, and expoſed to ſale, not a buyer appears.

By theſe means multitudes are already ruined, and the eſtates of others are melt-away in the ſame manner. It muſt ſtrike any one with great ſurprize and concern, to

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hear of the number of debtors diſcharged every court by our inſolvent act. Though our courts are held every quarter, yet at the laſt term for the county of Philadelphia alone, no leſs than thirty-five perſons applied for the benefit of that act. If it be conſidered, that this law extends only to thoſe who do not owe any ſingle debt above 150l. that many are daily releaſed by the lenity of their creditors, and that many more remove, without their knowledge, it will not be difficult to form a judgment of the condition to which the people are reduced.

If theſe effects are produced already, what can we expect when the ſame cauſes ſhall have operated longer? What can we expect, when the exhauſted colonies ſhall feel the *Stamp Act* drawing off, as it were, the laſt drops of their blood? From whence is the ſilver to come, with which the taxes impoſed by this act, and the duties impoſed by other late acts, are to be paid? Or how

will

will our *merchants* and the *lower ranks of people*, on whom the force of theſe regulations will fall firſt, and with the greateſt violence, bear this additional load ?

Theſe laſt are to be conſidered in a very different light from thoſe of the ſame claſſes in Great Britain. *There* the nature of their employments, and the plenty of money give them very little occaſion to make contracts in writing ; but *here* they are continually making them, and are obliged to do ſo. The *Stamp Act*, therefore, will be ſeverely felt by *theſe*, in whoſe welfare the proſperity of a ſtate is always ſo much intereſted; and*transfers of property, that ought, in new countries particularly, to be made as eaſy as poſſible, will be much diſcouraged. From the neceſſity they are under of making

* In the preſent ſcarcity of money, the ſellers of lands, negroes, &c. &c. always inſiſt on having part of the purchaſe-money in hand.—The buyers, unleſs they happen to be rich men, find it impoſſible to comply with this term, unleſs they borrow money, which cannot now be done but in very ſmall parcels from different perſons. Each of theſe muſt have a bond ; and each of thoſe bonds muſt pay a ſtamp-duty of one ſhilling ſterling, if the ſum be above ten pounds and under twenty---and if above twenty pounds and under forty, one ſhilling and ſix-pence ſterling --beſides a heavy duty on the original contract.

contracts *to be executed afterwards*, the lower ranks of people here are frequently engaged in law ſuits; and as the law is already a very heavy tax on the ſubject in all parts of the Britiſh dominions, this act will render it deſtructive here; for the neceſſities, the follies and the paſſions of mankind, will not ſuffer them to ceaſe from harraſſing one another in that way.

Neither are the merchants here by any means able to bear taxes, as they do at home. A very great number of them there put ſuch ſtocks into trade, as would be thought large fortunes among us; and our merchants would think themſelves very happy to leave off buſineſs with ſuch eſtates as the others begin with. I ſpeak of the merchants in general; for we have on the continent individuals who are rich, but their number is too inconſiderable to deſerve any notice on this occaſion. Beſides, the intereſt of money being lower at home than it is here, thoſe who trade on borrowed ſtocks, can do it to much greater advantage there than we can. Indeed, among us it is almoſt im-

poſſible

poſſible to get money to trade upon at any rate. How unequal, under the preſent diſadvantages, a merchant's commerce will be to the payment of all the taxes impoſed by the *Stamp Act* on his polices, fees with clerks, charter-parties, proteſts, his other notarial acts, his letters, and even his advertiſements, experience, I am afraid will unhappily prove.

Thus, I apprehend, that this act will be extremely heavy on thoſe who are leaſt able to bear it; and if our merchants and people of little ſubſtance languiſh under it, all others muſt be affected. Our mode of taxation hath always been by making as exact an eſtimate as could be formed of each man's eſtate; by which means, our taxes have been proportioned to the abilities of thoſe who were to pay them. Few perſons are employed in the collection of them; their allowance is very moderate; and therefore the expence is ſmall. No exceſſive penalties, no tribes of informers, no dreadful and deteſtable courts are neceſſary. This I imagine is the mode of taxation, which

in young colonies will be found to be leaſt oppreſſive and deſtructive, and certainly the moſt equal: but by the *Stamp Act*, the ‡ wealthy who have money to let out at intereſt, or to make purchaſes, and undoubtedly ought to pay the moſt towards the public charges, will eſcape theſe taxes, while the whole weight of them will fall on the neceſſitous and induſtrious, who moſt of all require relief and encouragement.

But it may be ſaid, "That the merchants will not be affected by theſe taxes, becauſe they will raiſe the prices of their goods in proportion, and that at length *all taxes muſt ariſe from lands*."

This rule ſeems more applicable to very populous and rich countries, where the manufacturers and landholders through neceſſity or the force of faſhions, have preſſing demands upon the merchants, than to ſuch a country as this, where a great majority of the people live on their lands in a very

‡ If a rich man buys land, it is generally from the diſtreſſed, and therefore the ſellers ſituation will oblige him to pay for the deed, when the other inſiſts on it; and when a man borrows money, every body knows who pays for the bonds and mortgages.

plain

plain way. For by practiſing a ſtrict frugality and induſtry, *we* may render ourſelves more independent of the merchants, than the circumſtances of more populous and wealthy ſtates will permit the other claſſes of their people to be. The high prices therefore which our merchants impoſe upon their goods, will diſcourage the ſale of them, and conſequently they muſt "be affected by the taxes," which oblige them to raiſe the prices in this manner.

However, granting that all taxes muſt ariſe from lands, it follows, that where the profits of the lands are ſmall, they can bear but ſmall taxes. The more labour is beſtowed on them, the greater the profits *will* be, and the taxes *may* be. In old populous countries there is an opportunity of beſtowing this labour, and the manner of doing it is well underſtood, Thus in England, the profits of land are ſo great, as to ſupport a very large number of nobility and gentry in ſpendor, and to afford means of raiſing taxes to an amazing amount. Nor are the workers of the land

unrewarded

unrewarded; for the farmers have ſuch long leaſes, and other encouragements, that they thrive and live comfortably, and many of them are very wealthy.

How different is the caſe in America? The inhabitants being ſcattered thin through the country, and labourers being very ſcarce, they think themſelves fortunate if they can clear their land, fence it, and any how put their grain into the ground in ſeaſon. Manuring * or improving ſoils is not known, except in ſome ſmall cloſes near cities; but every one muſt be content with what his land will yield of itſelf. With this it muſt be conſidered, that at leaſt four fifths of the people in America live upon farms, either of their own or rented, and ſpend their ſmall profits in maintaining their families; and it frequently happens from the length and ſeverity our winters, that the whole produce of a man's farm is not ſufficient to maintains

† "Further, it may be obſerved, that our lands are not ſufficiently cultivated, even where they are capable of great improvement. Hence large tracts ſerve only to maintain a ſmall number of people. If we aſk, why our lands (meaning in Scotland) are ſo ill cultivated,

maintain his family and ſtock *.

We are informed, that an opinion has been induſtriouſly propagated in Great Britain, that the colonies are † wallowing in

ted, beſides the obvious cauſes ariſing from the poverty and unſkilfulneſs of many of our farmers, the ſhortneſs of their leaſes, and other things which will occur upon the leaſt reflection, it is not a little owing to a want of inclination for agriculture, &c."

Diſſertation on the numbers of mankind.

* Small as the value of our land is, it is ſtill daily decreaſing, by the number of markets for their produce being leſſened; which muſt in time give the people an inclination to try what they can make by manufactures.

The riches of a people are always in proportion to the number of hands employed in works of ſkill and labour. Where theſe are few there can be but little wealth; and where there is little wealth, but very ſmall taxes can be born.

† "It is certain, that from the very time Sir Walter Raleigh, the father of our Engliſh colonies, and his aſſociates, firſt projected theſe eſtabliſhments, there have been perſons who have found an intereſt, in miſrepreſenting, or leſſening the value of them---The attempts were called chimerical and dangerous. Afterwards many malignant ſuggeſtions were made about ſacrificing ſo many Engliſhmen to the obſtinate deſire of ſettling colonies in countries which then produce very little advantage. But as theſe difficulties were gradually ſurmounted, thoſe complaints vaniſhed. No ſooner were theſe lamentations over, but others aroſe in their ſtead; when it could be no longer ſaid, that the colonies were uſeleſs, it was alledged that they were not uſeful enough to their mother country; that, while we were loaded with taxes, they were abſolutely free; that the planters lived like Princes, while the inhabitants of England laboured hard for a tolerable ſubſiſtence. This produced cuſtoms and impoſitions, which, if grievous to the plantations, muſt turn to our diſadvantage, as well as theirs, and conſequently become detrimental to both."

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wealth and luxury, while ſhe is labouring under an enormous load of debt. Never was there a greater miſtake. This opinion has ariſen from ſlight obſervations made in our cities during the late war, when large ſums of money were ſpent here in ſupport of fleets and armies. Our productions were then in great demand, and trade flouriſhed. Having a number of ſtrangers among us, the people, naturally not ungenerous or inhoſpitable, indulged themſelves in many uncommon expences. But the cauſe of this gaiety has ceaſed, and all the effect remaining is, that we are to be treated as a rich people, when we are really poor. Tully mentions a man who loſt an honourable office, by the homely entertainment he gave the people of Rome, when he could have afforded a better; but we have loſt vaſtly more by the imprudent exceſs of kindneſs, with which we have treated the people of Great Britain who have come among us, at an expence that did not ſuit our fortunes.

In purſuance of this deſign to bring down the pride of theſe Princely planters, ſuch heavy impoſitions were laid in Great-Britain on tobacco, that the inhabitants of Maryland and Virginia were diſcouraged from raiſing it. Then the mother country felt her error, and theſe Princes were found to be very poor people. The ſame unhappy ſpirit is now producing the ſame miſtake. There wants but a very litttle more weight upon Maryland and Virginia, to prevent their raiſing tobacco, and to make them and all their ſiſter colonies ſink under their multiplied burthens.

To all the diſadvantages that have been mentioned, it muſt be added, that our markets are much more precarious than thoſe at home. It is computed, that one half of the people there live in cities, and conſequently there muſt be a perpetual domeſtic demand for the productions of the earth; and foreign markets are not far diſtant for the overplus. Here the quantity ſold for conſumption among us is ſmall, and moſt of the foreign markets are very remote.

THESE reaſons induce me to think, that the colonies, unleſs ſome fortunate events, not to be expected, ſhould happen, cannot bear the reſtrictions and taxations laid upon them by their mother country, without ſuffering very ſeverely. What then can we do? Which way ſhall we turn ourſelves? How may we mitigate the miſeries of our country? *Great-Britain* gives us an example to guide us. SHE TEACHES US TO MAKE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN HER INTERESTS AND OUR OWN. Teaches! She requires—

commands—inſiſts upon it—threatens——compels——and even diſtreſſes us into it.

We have our choice of theſe two things ——to continue our preſent limited and diſadvantageous commerce——or to promote manufactures among ourſelves, with a habit of œconomy, and thereby remove the neceſſity we are now under of being ſupplied by *Great-Britain*.

It is not difficult to determine which of theſe things is moſt eligible. Could the laſt of them be only ſo far executed, as to bring our demand for *Britiſh* manufactures below the profits of our foreign trade, and the amount of our commodities immediately remitted home, theſe colonies might revive and flouriſh. States and families are enriched by the ſame means; that is, by being ſo induſtrious and frugal, as to ſpend leſs than what they raiſe can pay for.

We have examples in this province, which if imitated by others, muſt unavoidably produce the moſt happy effects for us: I mean the

the examples of the induſtrious, frugal, honeſt *Germans*. Their lands are as well cultivated as they can be in this new country, and they have the good ſenſe to require very little proviſions and cloaths more than they can get from their own farms, and make with their own hands. If we only conſider for a moment, the conſequences of ſuch a conduct, ſhould it be general, we muſt be convinced it muſt produce commerce, ſince all ſuperfluities would be exported; and the Owners having few demands in return, *that commerce* would of courſe produce wealth.

INDEED we ſhall be compelled, I apprehend, generally to imitate theſe examples. The late regulations, and our conſtant remittances to *Great-Britain*, have extremely leſſened the quantity of money among us, and yet theſe remittances are not ſufficient to pay for thoſe things we want from home. Neceſſity will teach us two ways to relieve ourſelves. The one is, to keep the *Britiſh* manufuctures we purchaſe longer in uſe or wear than we have been accuſtomed to do. The other is, tó ſupply their place by manufactures of our own. I dont ſuppoſe our

difficulties will *immediately* produce expert artiſts among us; but as the inhabitants here generally reſide on their lands, and live in a plain ruſtic way, they will be able to ſupply themſelves with many articles. Some author, and I think *Keyſler*, ſays, that in *Switzerland*, every family has all the trades in it that are neceſſary for its uſe. Their work is not, it may be preſumed, at all in the taſte of *London* or *Paris*, but it ſerves their purpoſe; and their coarſe cloaths and ſimple furniture enable them to live in plenty, and to defend their liberty. Something of this kind will be, nay, already is, practiſed by us. It is ſurpriſing to ſee the linen and cloth that have been lately made among us. Many gentlemen in this city, dreſs now in ſuits produced, manufactured, and made up in this province. The cloth is not equal in fineneſs to the beſt broad-cloth, but it is warm, ſtrong, and not very homely; and when the *Britiſh* workmen underſtand that they may meet with better encouragement here than they do at home, I believe in a few years we ſhall have very different kinds of cloth among us from theſe we now make. Inſtances are not wanting to juſtify the moſt

ſanguine

ſanguine expectations on this head. *Spain* uſed formerly to be entirely ſupplied with cloths from *England*; but in the reigns only of their two laſt kings, *Philip* the Vth, and *Ferdinand* the VIth, their manufactures have been improved to ſuch a degree, even by that proud and indolent people, that this commerce has entirely ceaſed in moſt parts of that kingdom. The ſame thing has happened in *France*, notwithſtanding the deſtructive wars in which ſhe has been continually involved. *Switzerland* ſome time ago ſpent large ſums of money in foreign commodities; but now they make excellent cloths, and good ſilks, though the ſcheme at firſt labored under very great difficulties. That country uſed alſo to be ſupplied by *Savoy* with wine; but the Duke laying a duty upon it, the *Switzers* remonſtrated, but in vain. At laſt ſome of the principal men promoted the cultivation of vines, though their predeceſſors had never planted any. The reſult exceeded their hopes. * "The demand for the *Savoyard* wine daily decreaſed, and inſtead of the precarious advantage

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* *Keyſler.*

ariſing

ariſing from this *impolitic duty*, the certain revenue was *irretriveably loſt*, and the induſtrious ſubject deprived of the benefit of his labour."

"BEFORE the ſettlement of theſe colonies," ſays *Poſtlethwayt*, "our manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent. In thoſe days we had not only our naval ſtores, but our ſhips from our neighbours. *Germany* furniſhed us with all things made of metal, even to nails. Wine, paper, linens, and a thouſand other things, came from *France*. *Portugal* ſupplied us with ſugar; all the products of *America* were poured into us from *Spain*; and the *Venetians* and *Genoeſe* retailed to us the commodities of the *Eaſt-Indies*, at their own price."

THE aſtoniſhing alterations in all theſe particulars, are too well known to need enumeration.

THESE inſtances, and many others that might be mentioned, may convince us, that nothing is too difficult for men to effect, whoſe hearts are filled with a generous love

of

of their country ; and they may convince the world of the dangers that attend provoking innovations in commerce. A branch of trade once loſt, is loſt for ever. In ſhort, ſo ſtrong a ſpirit is raiſed in theſe colonies by late meaſures, and ſuch ſucceſsful efforts are already made among us, that it cannot be doubted, that before the end of this century, the modern regulations will teach *America*, that ſhe has reſources within herſelf, of which ſhe never otherwiſe would have thought. Individuals, perhaps, may find their benefit in oppoſing her uſe of theſe reſources ; but I hope very, very few, will wiſh to receive benefits by ſuch means. The man who would promote his own intereſts by injuring his country, is unworthy of the bleſſings of ſociety.

It has hitherto been thought, by the people of *Great Britain*, and I hope it will ſtill be thought, that ſufficient advantages are derived by her from the colonies, without laying taxes upon them. To repreſent them as an " expenſive appendage of the *Britiſh* empire, that can no other way repay the trouble and treaſure they coſt her," is certainly

one

one of the greateſt errors ; and to ſpend much time in refuting this notion, would be unneceſſary. Every advantage accruing to the colonies by their connection with the mother country, is *amply*—*dearly*—paid for, by the benefits derived to her from them, and by the reſtrictions of their commerce. Theſe benefits have been allowed by the beſt writers to be immenſe, and * conſiſt in the various employment, and the ſupport they afford her people. If the colonies enable *her* to pay taxes, is it not as uſeful to her, as if *they* paid them ? Or, indeed, may not the colonies with the ſtricteſt propriety be ſaid to pay a great part of thoſe taxes, when they conſume the *Britiſh* manufactures loaded with the advanced prices occaſioned by ſuch taxes ? Or, further, as the colonies are compelled to take thoſe manufactures thus † loaded, when they might

* Chiefly ; even the ſupplying her with naval ſtores, &c. being inconſiderable, when compared with the other advantages.

† " If it be aſked, whether foreigners, for what goods thay take of us, do not pay on *that conſumption* a great portion of our taxes ? It is admitted they do."

might furniſh themſelves ſo much cheaper from other countries, may not the difference between theſe prices be called an *enormous tax* paid by them to *Great Britain?* May they not alſo be ſaid to pay *an enormous tax* to her, by being compelled to carry their moſt valuable productions *to her alone*, and to receive what ſhe pleaſes to give for them, when they might ſell them at other markets to much greater advantage? Laſtly, may they not be ſaid to pay a heavy tax to her, in being prohibited from carrying on ſuch manufactures

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POSTLETHWAYT'S *Great Britain's* true ſyſtem.

By the conſumption of *Britiſh* manufactures in *America*, we pay a heavier tax to *Great Britain*, than if they were conſumed at home. For in the bringing them here, a vaſt number of merchants, factors, brokers and ſeamen are employed, every one of which muſt have ſuch a profit, as will enable him to ſupport himſelf and his family, if he has any, in a country where every thing is dear by reaſon of the high taxes.

So far was the parliament from thinking in the laſt war, that any further taxes ſhould be laid on the colonies, ſo convinced indeed were they, that we had exceeded our abilities in the ſupplies we gave to the crown, that ſeveral ſums of money were granted to us, as indemnifications for the too heavy expences in which we had involved ourſelves.

The ſums thus given, paid part of our debts, but we are ſtill labouring under the remainder.

as they could have employed themſelves in with advantage, and thus being obliged to reſort to her for thoſe things with which they might ſupply themſelves? If theſe things are true, and can they be denied! may not the mother country more juſtly be called *expenſive* to her colonies, than they can be called *expenſive* to her?

WHAT would *France* give for ſuch *expenſive* dominions? Would ſhe refuſe the empire of *North-America*, unleſs the inhabitants would ſubmit to any taxes ſhe ſhould pleaſe to impoſe? Or would ſhe not rather afford them her utmoſt protection, if ever they ſhould be wretched enough to require it, for one half of the emoluments *Great Britain* receives from them? In ſhort, the amazing increaſe of the wealth and ſtrength of this kingdom, ſince the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, in whoſe time the colonies began to be ſettled, appears to be a ſufficient proof of their importance: And therefore I think it may juſtly be ſaid, that THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE POWER AND GLORY OF GREAT BRITAIN ARE LAID IN AMERICA.

WHEN

When the advantages derived by the mother country from her colonies are ſo * *important* and *evident*, it is amazing, that any perſons ſhould venture to aſſert, "that ſhe poured out her wealth and blood in the late war, *only for their defence and benefit*; and that ſhe cannot be recompenced for this expence and loſs, *but by taxing them.*"

If any man, who does not chuſe to ſpend much time in conſidering this ſubject, would only read the ſpeeches from the throne during that period, with the addreſſes in anſwer to them, he will ſoon be convinced *for whoſe benefit Great Britain* thought ſhe was exerting herſelf. For my part, I ſhould not now be ſurprized, if thoſe who maintain the above-mentioned aſſertions, ſhould contend, that *Great Britain* ought to tax *Portugal*. For was not that kingdom "defended by the troops and treaſure of *Great Britain?* And how can ſhe be "otherwiſe recompenſed for this expence and loſs?" If the protection of

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* Vide notes to page 4.

Portugal, though no taxes are received from thence, was beneficial to *Great Britain*, infinitely more ſo was the protection of the colonies.

So far I muſt beg leave to diſſent from theſe gentlemen, that if the colonies, by an increaſe of induſtry and frugality, ſhould become able to bear this taxation, it will, in my apprehenſion, notwithſtanding be injurious to *Great Britain*. If the ſum be trifling, it cannot be worth the diſcontent and unhappineſs the taking it will produce among ſo many faithful ſubjects of his Majeſty. If it be conſiderable, it muſt alſo be hurtful in another reſpect.

It muſt be granted, that it is not merely the bringing money into a nation that makes it wealthy, but the bringing money into it by the general induſtry of its inhabitants. A country may perpetually receive vaſt ſums, and yet be perpetually poor. It muſt alſo be granted, that almoſt all the money acquired by the colonies in their other branches of trade, is ſpent by them in *Great Britain*,

and

and finds employment for her people. Whatever then leſſens the ſum ſo ſpent, muſt leſſen that employment. This I think will be one conſequence of the STAMP ACT: For our demand will be as much leſs for *Britiſh* manufactures, as the amount of the ſums raiſed by the taxes. So much the fewer *Britiſh* merchants, artiſts, ſeamen and ſhips will be employed by us, and ſo much the more diſtreſſed at firſt, and afterwards ſo much the more frugal, * ingenious, laborious and independent will the coloniſts become.

IT is evident from the concurrent teſtimony of her own moſt noted authors on this ſubject, that *Great-Britain* is ſure of having our money at † laſt; and it appears no difficult matter to determine, whether it is better to take it in taxes or trade.—Suppoſe the

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* *Great Britain* will not only loſe in ſuch caſe, the annual amount of the taxes, but the people of *America* eſtabliſhing manufactures thro' diſcontent, will in time entirely withdraw their intercourſe with her—And therefore her loſs of the whole *American* trade, may be juſtly attributed to this inauſpicious beginning.

† See notes to page 4.

STAMP

STAMP ACT, enforced by uncommon penalties and unheard of juriſdictions, ſhould pick up every piece of gold and ſilver that ſhall wander into the plantations, what would *Great-Britain* gain by this meaſure? Or rather what would ſhe not loſe, by attempting to advance her revenue by means ſo diſtreſſing to commerce?

BUT if the late reſtrictions ſhall not prove *profitable*, perhaps they may by ſome be called *prudent* for another reaſon. We are informed, that many perſons at home affect to ſpeak of the *coloniſts*, as of a people deſigning and endeavouring to render themſelves independent, and therefore it may be ſaid to be proper as much as poſſible to depreſs them. This method for ſecuring obedience, has been tried by many powerful nations, and ſeems to be the conſtant policy of commonwealths: But the attempt in almoſt every inſtance from *Athens* down to *Genoa*, has been unſucceſsful. Many ſtates and kingdoms have loſt their dominions by ſeverity and unjuſt jealouſy. I remember none that have been loſt by kindneſs and a generous confidence. Evils are frequently preci-

pitated

pitated by imprudent attempts to prevent them. In ſhort, we never can be made an independent people, except it be by * *Great-Britain*

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* " If we are afraid that one day or other the colonies will revolt, and ſet up for themſelves, as ſome ſeem to apprehend, let us not *drive* them to a *neceſſity* to *feel* themſelves independent of us; as they *will* do, the moment they perceive that *they can be ſupplied with all things from within themſelves*, and do not need our aſſiſtance. If we would keep them ſtill dependent upon their mother country, and in ſome reſpects *ſubſervient* to their *views* and welfare; let us make it their INTEREST always to be ſo." TUCKER on trade.

" Our colonies, while they have *Engliſh* blood in their veins, and have relations in *England*, and WHILE THEY CAN GET BY TRADING WITH US, the *ſtronger* and *greater they* grow, the *more* this *crown* and *kingdom* will *get* by them; and nothing but ſuch an arbitrary power as ſhall make them deſperate can bring them to rebel." DAVENANT on the plantation trade.

" The Northern colonies are not upon the ſame footing as thoſe of the South; and having a worſe ſoil to improve, they muſt find the recompence ſome other way, which only can be in property and dominion: Upon which ſcore, any innovations in the form of government there, ſhould be cautiouſly examined, for fear of entering upon meaſures, by which the induſtry of the inhabitants be quite diſcouraged. 'Tis ALWAYS UNFORTUNATE for a people, either by CONSENT or upon COMPULSION, to depart from their PRIMITIVE INSTITUTIONS, and

Britain herſelf; and the only way for her to do it, is to make us frugal, ingenious, * united and diſcontented.

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and thoſe FUNDAMENTALS, by which they were FIRST UNITED TOGETHER.

Idem.

* The moſt effectual way of *uniting* the colonies, is to make it their common intereſt to oppoſe the deſigns and attempts of *Great Britain.*

" All wiſe ſtates will well conſider how to preſerve the advantages ariſing from colonies, and avoid the evils. And I conceive that there can be but TWO ways in nature to hinder them from throwing off their dependence; *one*, to keep it out of their *power*, and the *other*, out of their *will.* The *firſt* muſt be by *force*; and the *latter*, by *uſing them well*, and keeping them employed in ſuch productions, and making ſuch manufactures, as will ſupport themſelves and families comfortably, *and procure them wealth too*, and at leaſt not prejudice their mother country.

Force can never be uſed effectually to anſwer the end, *without deſtroying the colonies themſelves.* Liberty and encouragement are neceſſary to carry people thither, and to keep them together when they are there: and violence will hinder both. Any body of troops conſiderable enough to awe them, and keep them in ſubjection under the direction too of a needy governor, often ſent thither to make his fortune, and at ſuch a diſtance from any application for redreſs, will ſoon put an end to all planting, and leave the country to the ſoldiers alone, and if it did not, *would eat up all the profit of the colony.* For

this

But if this event ſhall ever happen, which Providence I hope will never permit, it muſt be when the preſent generation and the preſent ſet of ſentiments are extinct.

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this reaſon, arbitrary countries have not been equally ſucceſsful in planting colonies with free ones; and what they have done in that kind, has either been by force at a vaſt expence, or *by departing from the nature of their government*, and *giving ſuch privileges to planters* as were *denied to their other ſubjects*. And I dare ſay, that a few prudent laws, and a little prudent conduct, would ſoon give us far the greateſt ſhare of the riches of all *America*, perhaps drive many of other nations out of it, or into our colonies for ſhelter.

There are *ſo many exigencies* in all ſtates, *ſo many foreign wars*, and *domeſtic diſturbances*, that theſe colonies CAN NEVER WANT OPPORTUNITIES, if they watch for them, *to do what they ſhall find their intereſt to do*; and therefore we ought to take all the precautions in our power, that it ſhall never be *their intereſt* to act againſt that of their native country; an evil which can no otherwiſe be averted, than by keeping them *fully employed* in ſuch trades *as will encreaſe their own*, as well as our wealth; for it is much to be feared, if we do not find employment for *them*, they may find it for *us*. The intereſt of the mother country, is always to keep them dependent, and ſo employed; and it requires all her addreſs to do it; and it is certainly more *eaſily* and *effectually* done by *gentle* and *inſenſible* methods, than by *power* alone."

CATO's letters.

Late meaſures have indeed excited an univerſal and unexampled grief and indignation throughout the colonies. What man, who wiſhes the welfare of *America*, can view without pity, without paſſion, her reſtricted and almoſt ſtagnated trade, with its numerous train of evils——taxes torn from her without her conſent.—Her legiſlative aſſemblies, the principal pillars of her liberty, cruſhed into inſignificance.——A formidable force eſtabliſhed in the midſt of peace, to bleed her into obedience—The ſacred right of trial by jury, violated by the erection of arbitrary and unconſtitutional juriſdictions ——and general poverty, diſcontent and deſpondence ſtretching themſelves over his unoffending country?

The reflections of the coloniſts on theſe melancholy ſubjects, are not a little embittered by a firm perſuaſion, that they never would have been treated as they are, if *Canada* ſtill continued in the hands of the *French*. Thus, their hearts glowing with every ſentiment of duty and affection towards their mother country, and expecting, not unreaſonably perhaps, ſome marks of

tenderneſs

tenderneſs in return, are pierced by a fatal diſcovery, that the vigorous aſſiſtance which they faithfully afforded her in extending her dominions, has not only proved the glorious but deſtructive cauſe of the calamities they now deplore and reſent.

YET ſtill their reſentment is but the reſentment of dutiful children, who have received unmerited blows from a beloved parent. Their obedience to *Great-Britain* is ſecured by the beſt and ſtrongeſt ties, *thoſe of affection*; which alone *can*, and I hope *will* form an everlaſting union between her and her colonies. May no ſucceſſes or ſuſpicions ever tempt *her*, to deviate from the natural generoſity of her ſpirit——And may no dreadful revolution of ſentiments, ever teach *them*, to fear her victories, or to repine at her glories.

I am, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Have omitted mentioning one thing that ſeems to be connected with the foregoing ſubject.

With a vaſt expence of blood and wealth, we fought our way in the late war up to the doors of the *Spaniſh* treaſuries, and by the poſſeſſion of *Florida*, might obtain ſome recompence for that expence. *Penſacola*, and the other ports in that country, are convenient places, where the *Spaniards* might meet us, and exchange their ſilver for the manufactures of *Great-Britain* and the proviſions of theſe colonies. By this means, a commerce inconceiveably beneficial to the *Britiſh* ſubjects might be carried on. This commerce the *Spaniards* wiſh and have endeavoured to carry on. Many hundred thouſand dollars have been brought by them to *Penſacola* to lay out there; but the men of

war

war on that ſtation have compelled them to take back their cargoes, *the receipt of which*, it may from thence be preſumed, *would be deſtructive to the intereſts of Great-Britain.*— Thus we receive leſs advantage from *Florida*, now it belongs to us, than we did when it was poſſeſſed by our enemies; for then, by permiſſion from the *Spaniſh* governors to trade there, we derived conſiderable emoluments from our intercourſe with them.

UPON what reaſons this conduct is founded, is not eaſy to determine. Sure no one conſiders *Florida* in the ſame light with *theſe colonies*, and thinks that no veſſels ſhould be permitted to trade there, but *Britiſh* ſhipping. This would be to apply the acts of navigation to purpoſes directly oppoſite to the ſpirit of them, They were intended to preſerve an intercourſe between the *mother country* and her *colonies*, and thus to cultivate a *mutual affection*; to promote the intereſts of *both*, by an exchange of *their* moſt valuable productions for *her* manufactures; thereby to increaſe the ſhipping of both; and thus render them capable of affording aid to each other. Which of theſe purpoſes

is

is anſwered by prohibiting a commerce, that can be no other way carried on? That is, by forbidding the *Spaniards* to bring their wealth *for us* to *Florida*, which is an unhealthy ſand-bank, held by a garriſon, at a great expence of money, and a greater of lives, that cannot for ages, if ever it will, yield a ſingle advantage to *Great-Britain*, but *that* ſhe refuſes to enjoy.

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THE

NECESSITY, &c.

SIR,

AS the tax which has lately been laid on our American colonies is like to come under the review of parliament ſome time this ſeſſion, and as I lately arrived from North America, where I reſided ſeveral years; I beg leave, with all dutiful ſubmiſſion, to give you my ſentiments on that ſubject. If I am ſo happy as to caſt any light upon a queſtion of ſo much importance, I am certain of your approbation, and ſhall have rendered the greateſt ſervice in my power to the public.

From the aſſiduous care of our preſent miniſtry to reſtore commerce and ſatisfaction to every branch of His Majeſty's dominions, there is great reaſon to believe they will recommend

a *repeal*, or at leaſt ſome conſiderable *alterations* of the American Stamp-Act; and as ſome weighty arguments now offer againſt that Act, which could not have been foreſeen when it was made, there is the greater reaſon to believe the parliament in general will come into one or other of theſe meaſures.

It is a pity that any who treat of American affairs, ſhould ever handle them as if they had no deſire to find out truth, nor any thing elſe in view, than to irritate or ſtir up one part of His Majeſty's dominions againſt another, by affecting to eſpouſe the cauſe of one, while they load the other with the moſt opprobrious language; as if it were poſſible, that the intereſt of Great-Britain and her colonies could be ſeparated, much leſs oppoſite to one another: I have ever conſidered their connexion like that which ſubſiſts between the natural body and its members; if the members ſuffer, the body muſt ſuffer alſo.

For

For this reaſon, we ſhould not barely conſider how the Stamp-Act may affect our American colonies, but how it muſt affect the future ſtrength and proſperity of His Majeſty's dominions: And, purſuing this plan, I hope to prove, even to a demonſtration, That

It is for the Intereſt of Great Britain, *that the Stamp-Act ſhould be repealed.*

In the courſe of this proof, it is hardly neceſſary for me to enquire what *Right* the parliament of Great-Britain may have to tax our American colonies; eſpecially as the parliament has, at any time, the *Power* of reſolving that queſtion. Yet, as I ſhall have occaſion to mention the preſent diſpoſition of our coloniſts towards the Stamp-Act, it may not be improper to ſhew, That they have at leaſt the *Appearance* of reaſon for their complaints.

I. It is ſaid, The colonies are under great obligations to Britain for the expence

pence ſhe has been at, in planting and ſupporting them; in particular, the blood and treaſure we ſpent, during the late war, on *their account*, has brought them greatly in our debt. Hence it is proper they ſhould be taxed, to refund ſome part of thoſe expences.

II. That a ſtanding army is neceſſary in the colonies, and it is proper they ſhould be taxed for its ſupport.

III. That Great-Britain being involved in debt, and loaded with taxes, it is proper her colonies ſhould ſupport ſome ſhare of the burthen. I ſuppoſe one or other of theſe reaſons, (for I have not read the Preamble to the Stamp-Act) induced the parliament to tax our colonies. They ſhall be conſidered in order.——

It is a general opinion, that our North American colonies are greatly indebted to Britain for the expence of planting them, and for the blood and treaſure we have ſpent, during the late war, *on their account*.

Our

Our coloniſts are certainly indebted to the moſt righteous prince that ever ſwayed a ſcepter, together with his royal anceſtors, for their enjoyment of every liberty, civil and religious, that might conduce to the proſperity of any people.——And, in return, they have paid the moſt affectionate loyalty, and have ever appeared ready to ſpend the laſt drop of their blood, whenever His Majeſty's honor, or the ſafety of his dominions, required their aſſiſtance: But as to pecuniary obligations between them and Great-Britain, I humbly preſume, the Ballance is in their favour.

There was a time when their forefathers * in Britain, being neither al-

* In this caſe, as well as when I ſpeak of the virtue, induſtry, or temperance of our coloniſts; of the blood they have ſpent during the late war; of their country producing all the neceſſaries of life; of the annual ſum they may be ſuppoſed to pay by a Stamp-Act, &c. in general, when I ſpeak of our coloniſts, I mean thoſe on the continent of America, and not thoſe in our Weſt-Indian Iſlands, as the latter are a perfect contraſt to the former.

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lowed to enjoy civil or religious liberty, rather than reſiſt the powers that were, requeſted that they might retreat into the wilderneſs of America, and were graciouſly allowed to poſſeſs a tract of land, which coſt Great-Britain nothing, and which was really the property and poſſeſſion of its native ſavages: Thither they went, and at the expence of their own money and their own blood, ſubdued the natives, and converted a wilderneſs into a fruitful country, which is now a valuable part of the Britiſh empire. Our parliament ever ſince ſo conducted matters, by prohibitions and reſtrictions on their trade, that theſe infant colonies alone have ſerved the purpoſe of *increaſing* our ſubjects, *maintaining* our poor, *ſtrengthening* our navy, *conſumiug our manufactures*, and returning us the annual profit of immenſe ſums. Does it hence appear that they have contracted any debt with Great-Britain? While ſome of us were rolling in affluence and eaſe,

others

others wearing themſelves out with diſſipation and vice, and thouſands making a prey of one another; if their fathers, by a ſingular fortitude and virtue, braved the fury of the ſeas, and danger or death in every form, from famine and the ſword, among wild beaſts and ſavages; if they have, by the moſt arduous labour, changed that wilderneſs into a ſource of endleſs wealth to Great-Britain, does it from thence follow, that they are under great obligations to us? I ſhould think the contrary. But the colonies are ſaid to be greatly in our debt, for the blood and treaſure we have ſpent *on their account*, during the late war. Perhaps even this account is pretty well ſettled; but that we may form a proper judgement on this ſubject, which is ſo often mentioned, it will be neceſſary to review the cauſe and event of that war: The facts are theſe;——our Britiſh North American colonies are extended along the ſhore near 2000 miles,

and backward not 200 miles, upon an average: The limits of theſe colonies are fixed by charter, and ſeveral of them are already full, though not very thick ſettled. An immeaſurable territory lies behind theſe colonies, which is not theirs, nor did they ever claim it; their charter gave them no pretenſions to ſuch a claim: It is the territory of Great-Britain, never yet located, nor granted to any particular ſubject. It was natural to ſuppoſe and expect, that ſoon as the bounds of her preſent colonies were all peopled, ſhe would alſo divide this wilderneſs into other colonies, which might become a new ſource of riches and power. But the French had perfidiouſly ſurrounded our preſent colonies by a chain of forts, and thereby muſt have cut off all hopes of future increaſe to our dominions: in this caſe it was the intereſt of Great-Britain, it was abſolutely neceſſary for her to remove the French; and removed they were, by a glorious and ſucceſs-

ſucceſsful conflict ; but did the Britons alone bleed during that war, or did they alone bear the expence ? No Sir, brave and generous as the Britons were, the coloniſts have not been a whit behind them.

A ſingle colony which was planted about ninety years ago, paid near half a million towards the general expence : the four New-England colonies alone raiſed and ſupported 20000 men *per annum*, and it appears from good evidence, that they loſt near 30000 men during the ſervice. In general, this war has made ſuch havock from one end to the other of our infant colonies, that the flower of their youth are deſtroyed, and the ſurvivors loaded with taxes, to pay the debts which were then contracted. In return for this profuſion of blood, our coloniſts have obtained the ſecurity of their preſent eſtates ; they have alſo acquired perpetual honor to the Britiſh arms, and a vaſt addition

of empire to the kingdom, whoſe ſubjects they are. But all theſe acquiſitions being chiefly imaginary, can never help them to pay greater taxes than formerly; and I confeſs, it does not appear that they have made any other acquiſitions. It is true, that ſeveral French and Spaniſh colonies are added to our dominions upon the continent, together with a vaſt extent of wilderneſs, but that is nothing to the preſent coloniſts: their land is *decreaſed*, and not increaſed in value by theſe additions, and their trade is *worſe* inſtead of better; for the more land is to be purchaſed on the continent, ſo much the leſs will any purchaſer give for what is now occupied, the greater poſſeſſions we have on the continent of North America, and the greater quantity of indigo, rice, tobacco, hemp, flax, fur, and timber that are thence imported, ſo much leſs muſt each colony gain by her trade in theſe articles, and theſe are the commodities with which they

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pay their taxes. Who then have been gainers by our late war in America? The anſwer is plain, Great Britain has gained exceedingly.

It is long ſince the neat balance of trade with our colonies was *half a million* per annum in favour of Great Britain, and by our late acquiſitions in America, it muſt ſoon become *a million*, I apprehend this is more than we gain by our trade in every other part of the world. Thus it appears that ſo much blood and treaſure was ſpent during the late war, on the account, almoſt *the ſole account of Great Britain*, and not of the colonies. And whoever conſiders the coloniſts in a juſt point of view, will confeſs they have done more than could have been expected, as they really have done more than was ever required towards the ſupport of the late war.

Every new acquiſition on the continent, muſt be entirely ſubſervient to the purpoſes of Great Britain, as our American coloniſts always have been

been. Theſe people are in general hardy, temperate and induſtrious, hence they have already opened an immenſe trade, the Profits of which, every ſhilling, centers in this Iſland. As their country produces every thing in abundance that is neceſſary for the preſervation of life, they might carry on a profitable trade at any foreign market. But this is not proper, nor is it permitted; our parliaments have ſo hedged them in with laws, reſtrictions, and prohibitions, that by their utmoſt induſtry, they can hardly pay their debts; furr is a valuable article, and a trade in hats would have been highly profitable for them; to prevent this, we have prohibited their ſending hats even from one colony to another. This is the caſe of wool, and other articles of like conſequence. Copper mines they have in abundance, but we have taken care, by proper regulations, to reap the chief profits ariſing from them; their houſes are univerſally covered with wood, almoſt

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in the ſhape of flat tiles, hence they have an extraordinary conſumption of nails, but we do not indulge them in the uſe of ſlitting mills, leſt they ſhould make nails for themſelves, and thereby hurt our our manufacture. I need hardly mention that they are not allowed to uſe any foreign manufacture, but as it comes through our hands, encreaſed in price by public duties, and the private gain of our merchants, by which means they pay us a pretty heavy tax. Nor need I mention that there are numberleſs articles, the produce of their country, which they are not allowed to ſend even to Great Britain, on any account, leſt they ſhould hurt the price of like commodities in this iſland. It would be tedious to mention the ſeveral reſtrictions we have laid on their trade, reſtrictions nevertheleſs, which the Americans can eaſily bear, as they are only negative, yet the trade of this iſland could not have flouriſhed if they had been neglected. Thus we

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have always been able to convert the induſtry and trade of our coloniſts into the riches and ſtrength of their mother country. Now, Sir, as it is plain that our colonies in North America have hitherto ſerved us, or rather they have been taxed by us, to the value of half a million per annum, that they have aſſiſted us at the expence of much blood and treaſure to acquire new colonies, by which *we alone* are to be profited, it ſeems cruel to make them ſuffer again for our advantage, by compelling them to refund our expences in the war.

II. It is further ſaid, that *a ſtanding army ſhould be ſtationed in our colonies, and they ſhould be taxed for its ſupport.* But I confeſs it does not appear to me why we ſhould tax our Engliſh colonies in North America, for the ſupport of a ſtanding army; for this army is to be ſtationed there either on account of the Engliſh colonies, or on account of the French and Spaniſh ones, which we have lately conquered;

conquered; it is evidently improper that our Engliſh coloniſts ſhould be taxed for the ſupport of an army which is deſigned to keep other colonies in ſubjection. I have heard an old maxim which ſeems founded on juſtice, viz. *He that reaps the profit ſhould alſo bear the expence*, or to this purpoſe, and certainly this maxim may very properly be applied to the caſe in hand. Why ſhould the Engliſh North Americans ſupport an army to be ſtationed in Canada, or Penſacola and Mobille, any more than an army which is ſtationed in our other new conqueſts, on the coaſts of Guinea? for by the latter they gain more than by the former, and ſurely their having ſpent much blood and treaſure in conquering thoſe colonies, and adding them to the Britiſh dominion, can never be urged as a reaſon for their ſpending all the treaſure they have, or rather all they ever ſhall have, in preſerving them. It appears equally improper for us to tax our Engliſh North American coloniſts for the ſup-

port of an army to be ſtationed among themſelves; becauſe ſuch an army is no way neceſſary there, but, on the contrary, muſt prove very injurious. If a ſtanding force be neceſſary in theſe colonies, it muſt be for the purpoſes of the civil magiſtrate, *viz.* preſerving peace, and executing juſtice. But as our ſeveral colonies have a compleat legiſlature, ſubordinate to that of Great-Britain, which has a power of forming militias, raiſing troops, &c. and as they ought to be the beſt judges of their own wants, it would ſeem natural to leave the affair of regular troops to their own option, to be raiſed and paid as they ſhall find moſt convenient, or not to be raiſed at all, unleſs it be requiſite.——A few there have been, ſo little acquainted with the true ſtate of our American colonies, as to ſuppoſe that a ſtanding army is neceſſary there, even to preſerve the obedience of our Engliſh ſubjects to the crown of Great-Britain; but nothing can argue greater ignorance, as our coloniſts have hi-

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therto appeared the moſt loyal of all his majeſty's ſubjects, and no man can be ſo wicked as to ſuppoſe that our miniſtry will ever premeditate ſuch ſchemes of opreſſion as may ſhake that loyalty, and enable him to foreſee that troops may be neceſſary. Whoever recollects that our colonies were in general planted by people who fled from England and Scotland, to eſcape the civil and religious perſecutions of a former family, which God in mercy to this nation has baniſhed, may ſee an obvious reaſon why theſe coloniſts ſhould continne inviolably and regularly attached to His preſent Majeſty, and his illuſtrious family.— But we need not enquire into cauſes, while modern facts give ample teſtimony to this truth poſterity will hardly believe, concerning our coloniſts, that when danger was far enough from their borders, and ſo many of their youth deſtroyed in battle, that volunteers were not to be raiſed by any means; rather than the progreſs of His Majeſty's arms ſhould be retarded,

they made laws to impreſs their ſons and brethren by thouſands into the ſervice. This was always done upon the firſt notice of His Majeſty's pleaſure, ſignified by ſome miniſter of State: and if this people's loyalty may yet be ſuſpected, there never can any confidence be placed in ſubjects; ſince hitherto every appearance of loyalty has certainly been in favour of the coloniſts. If a ſtanding army ſhould unfortunately be quartered among our Engliſh colonies in North America, it will prove the cauſe of a double tax, the moſt grievous of which has been little attended to.

Our coloniſts can only flouriſh by induſtry, temperance, and frugality, the moment they forſake theſe virtues, they muſt ceaſe to be profitable either to themſelves or Great Britain; an ancient kingdom that has an eſtabliſhed commerce may ſuſtain a little vanity, yet the moſt opulent kingdoms have at length been cruſhed under this weight, and Britain herſelf is ſenſibly injured by her diſſi-

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pated ſons; what muſt become of an infant colony that has no trade but with Great Britain, and is obliged to pay the balance, which is always againſt her, by an extraordinary ſhare of diligence. If the inhabitants of this colony ſhould be corrupted in their morals, if they ſhould learn diſſipation and idleneſs from an army that has nothing to do, if their ſons and daughters ſhould become leſs frugal or leſs chaſte by the converſation of men born to affluence, accuſtomed to the vices of an old country and trained up in the army, I fear, if ſuch things ſhould happen to an infant colony, muſt not population be retarded, and the inhabitants ſoon become unable to pay their debts, and thence uſeleſs ſubjects to Great Britain?

The third reaſon that I have heard given for the Stamp-act, ſhall now be conſidered, viz. *Great Britain being involved in debt, and loaded with taxes, it is proper her colonies ſhould ſupport ſome ſhare of the Burthen.*

then. As this reaſon has the greateſt air of propriety, and doubtleſs had ſome influence on our late miniſtry, I ſhall take the more notice of it, eſpecially as an anſwer to it brings me to the chief purpoſe of this letter, and what I propoſed at the firſt to demonſtrate, which was this. *It is for the intereſt of Great Britain that the Stamp-act in North America be repealed.* If I ſhould be able to prove this, every other argument would be immediately anſwered, for there might chance to be a caſe in which it would be cruel and unjuſt for us to tax a colony, even though we could be profited thereby, yet certainly, if that very tax were *injurious* to ourſelves, it would be on every account wrong to eſtabliſh it. And however our nation may be loaded with debt, if the Stamp-act ſhould prove injurious to Great Britain, *it muſt increaſe and not diminiſh the burden.* Without looking forward to a great diſtance, and mentioning every probable conſequence of the Ameri-

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can Stamp-act, it muſt immediately injure Great Britain, by hurting her trade with the colonies: the extent of this injury we ſhall preſently conſider. There are two ways by which our trade with the colonies may be affected. The coloniſts may prove *unwilling* or *unable* to ſupport this trade; in either caſe, it muſt be ruined; and *both* are like to be the conſequence of a Stamp-act. It has never been counted either for the honour or intereſt of any legiſlature to grieve the ſubject, it is generally hurtful, and ſometimes dangerous to grieve them univerſally, and probably no act ever created ſuch univerſal diſquiet as the Stamp-act does in America. It is vain to ſay that any danger can poſſibly ariſe at preſent from our coloniſts endeavouring to reſiſt the Stamp-act by force, they are neither able nor deſirous to contend with their mother-country, they know that we have troops enough on the continent to vex them, and could ſoon viſit them with a fleet that might blow

them

them to atoms, nor does it appear that one perſon of note in the colonies ever thought of reſiſtance, tho' ſome people, ever pleaſed with calumny and miſchief, would fondly conſtrue ſome rude efforts of the common people into premeditated rebellion, in order to exaſperate our government againſt the unfortunate coloniſts, with the pleaſing proſpect of ſeeing our hands imbrued in the blood of our children. But it muſt prove fortunate for the coloniſts that our government is too juſt and humane not to redreſs their complaints, if this ſhould ſeem for the general good, notwithſtanding the imprudent conduct of a few of their ignorant people. A nation which has lately given laws to Europe will never make a point of honor to chaſtiſe a few peaſants. But to return from this digreſſion, it is undoubtedly very eaſy for us to force the Americans to comply with the Stamp-Act.

But no fleet or army can make them *willing*; there is no argument

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ſo *deciſive* as that from the muzzle of a gun, and yet there is none leſs *perſuaſive*. The Americans muſt always judge according to their own capacities, in ſpite of our troops; and at preſent they certainly judge, that the parliament of Great-Britain has no right, natural or acquired, to tax her coloniſts: they may be miſtakən, but that very miſtake muſt injure our trade, and muſt produce the more fatal effects, the greater appearance of reaſon there is on their ſide. They ſay, this act *deprives* them of their moſt valuable *charter-privilege*, being taxed by their own repreſentatives, that however trifling we may count this circumſtance, they have purchaſed their privileges at the expence or riſque of every thing that is dear to mankind: their fathers, in hopes of enjoying them, endured every kind of danger and toil in that wilderneſs, where thouſands were deſtroyed with the ſword, and the reſt worn out with hardſhips are gone to ſleep; that if their children ſhould now be deprived

of thoſe privileges, poſterity will be cautious how they encounter dangers to aggrandize the Britiſh nation.—Unhappy coloniſts! deſtined to misfortunes at all events: if they are not vigorous and ſucceſsful, they muſt periſh by famine or the ſword; if they are ſucceſsful and proſperous, they muſt be taxed beyond the utmoſt farthing, by men in a diſtant part of the world. It may be replied, that the colonies did not all obtain by charter the excluſive privilege of taxing themſelves: but they ſay, it would not follow that the parliament of Great-Britain had a right to tax them; on the contrary, though their charters did not ſecure this privilege to them, it would be improper for the parliament to take that advantage. The matter ſhould only be determined by the laws and ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution. —— Their charters were granted by Kings, and it is univerſally known, that a Britiſh King may not, that he cannot deprive his ſubjects of their liberties. We have cer-

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tain conſtitutional *Magna Charta* privileges ſo inviolable and ſacred, that every endeavour of the ſovereign to diminiſh them would be void and null. Britons are taught to believe ſo on this ſide the Atlantic; they would be miſerable if this truth ſhould be called in queſtion. Why ſhould Britiſh Americans have different ſenſations or judgement?

Cœlum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.

Doubtleſs, any attempts appearing from any American charter to deprive the ſubject of conſtitutioual privileges, will ever be deemed unjuſt by a Britiſh parliament: perhaps no ſuch attempts have been made. I am not perfectly acquainted with all the charters; but it was proper to mention the circumſtance, as ſome of theſe charters were granted by a family that was apt to deſpiſe the privileges of the ſubject. I believe that a Britiſh King may diſpenſe with ſome obligations in the ſubjects, but cannot enjoin any that are repugnant to our *Magna Charta*

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—however that be, the coloniſts ſay, they deſire no diſpenſations, nor any liberties greater than their fellow ſubjects in Great Britain, to be taxed by their own repreſentatives, *and only by them*, a privilege which nature, or rather God and nature has granted them, though they had no Charter; that depriving them of this privilege would be a cruel precedent; and by the way, it may have troubleſome conſequences. To elucidate this matter, let us ſuppoſe it a ſettled rule, that the Britiſh parliament is ever to tax our American plantations, let us carry this rule forward a few years, and ſee how it muſt apply.

At preſent the Britiſh ſubjects in North America, are at leaſt two millions. It is evident from accurate calculations, that they double their number once every eighteen years *

* The writer ſaw theſe Calculations in the Hand of a very accurate Gentleman in Rode Iſland, they included the four New England Governments, where there are the ſmalleſt addition of Foreigners though People increaſe rather faſter than thoſe in the moſt Southern Provinces, where the Inhabitants are more luxurious, leſs healthful and have not ſuch popular forms of Government.

without including the additions they receive from other countries. Let us ſuppoſe them only to double in twenty years, then in ſo ſhort a time as forty years they muſt be eight millions, and twenty years more, perhaps twenty five years will make them ſixteen millions. The inhabitants of Great Britain are hardly ſeven millions, and we don't increaſe, except that our commerce with North America has lately encreaſed our numbers. Now I ſhould be pleaſed to hear by what face of juſtice the ſmaller part of the Britiſh empire ſhall tax the greater; how the repreſentatives of ſeven millions ſhall undertake to tax ſixteen millions, whom they do not repreſent. The very attempt muſt produce ſuch events as no good ſubject can anticipate without horror. It is dangerous now to eſtabliſh a law which muſt ſoon be changed out of prudence, elſe it will in a little time, fall by its own weight, and perhaps involve the Britiſh empire in its ruin. Two Millions of men, are not to be convinced,

convinced, they may be forced, but it may prove hard either to force or convince even thrice that number. Some difficulties there are which grow eafy by cuftom, and fome apparent injuries which time obliterates, but the injuries received by fubjects in general, or by fubject depending ftates from their fuperiors, are not of this nature, like an unwieldy Burthen they grow more irkfome the longer they are fupported or like a barbed arrow, they ftick deeper and hurt more by continuance. The hiftory of nations will inform us how many provinces and fubordinate ftates have been loft by oppreffion which they found intolerable after they had been long accuftomed to it. I don't mean to infinuate that a Britifh parliament has, or ever will deliberately oppreſs our colonies; but in the mean time it muft be granted, that our colonifts are to comfort themfelves with hope alone, for they have no fecurity of moderate taxes, while they are not their own taxers. The maxim in Great

Britain,

Britain, that a ſubject ſhould only be taxed by his own repreſentatives, is evidently founded on juſtice, for when we are taxed by our repreſentatives, in other words, when we are taxed by ourſelves, we can have no temptation to go beyond what is reaſonable or neceſſary, we know our own wants, and feel our own Burthen, and theſe muſt ever be the rule of taxation; but a Britiſh parliament will hardly be allowed to feel for the Inhabitants of North America, we are ignorant of their abilities, or the ſmall knowledge we have, is founded on very ſuperficial accounts, often falſe ones. It is not improbable that ſome future parliaments might lay oppreſſive taxes on the coloniſts imagining that we may eaſe our own burthen by loading them. I hope to prove this impoſſible, but if it could happen, the temptation would be dangerous. The ſubject of our daily Prayer is, or ſhould be, " Lead us " not into temptation." And the wiſeſt earthly prince has taught us

' that

' that a bribe blinds the underſtand-
' ing:' hence I ſhould be ſorry to ſee any number of His Majeſty's ſubjects tempted to oppreſs their fellow-ſubjects. at the diſtance of 3000 miles.

Did not the brave inhabitants of this iſland complain with a voice that ſhook the baſis of our government, when they were taxed at the ſole pleaſure of their ſovereign, and can the thing be right in America, which was wrong in Great-Britain? Or can that be right on one ſide the Atlantic which was wrong on the other? The Americans indeed are not taxed by the royal prerogative, but they are taxed by a p——t which they have not choſen, nor have they conſented to be taxed by them; and if they are taxed without and againſt their own conſent, they do not ſee where the difference is, whether that tax be laid by the K—— or by the p——t.

Whether the coloniſts reaſon well or ill upon this ſubject, is not my buſineſs to determine; I have only to

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mention facts. Their reaſons are at leaſt plauſible, this diſcontent is univerſal, and may continue ſo while the Stamp-Act continues, and conſequently muſt infallibly injure our trade. They will never conſent to enrich us, while they think we oppreſs them; they will never treat us with the reſpect due to a parent, while they think we treat them as ſlaves; nor will they carry on a friendly and profitable trade with us, while they think we treat them as aliens, and load them with chains. For theſe reaſons, I think it is our intereſt to repeal the Stamp-Act, rather than grieve ſo many good ſubjects, and cut off the ſource of our own wealth. But if any perſon ſhould think the foregoing reaſons are not concluſive, or that the bad effects of this act upon trade will be trifling and preſently forgotten, there is another reaſon, which I hope will appear demonſtrable: though the Americans ſhould be willing, they

will not be able to fupport their trade as formerly with Great-Britain, while the Stamp-Act continues in force. Various are the accounts of how much the act may produce yearly from our Engliſh colonies on the continent of America; perhaps it may bring us 200,000 l. *per annum*; but it does not by any means follow, that Great-Britain ſhall reap the neat profit of 200,000 l. *per annum* more than ſhe formerly gained by her colonies; on the contrary, I apprehend ſhe may be a loſer of pretty near that ſum. To aſcertain this matter, it is proper to examine all the neceſſary conſequences of the Stamp-Act, and we find the weight of the act conſpiring with the diſpoſition of the people to injure our trade. The weight of the tax gives it a ſtroke which the Americans themſelves cannot prevent. It is expreſly provided, that the money to be raiſed by the Stamp-Act, ſhall be all remitted to Great-Britain in Gold or Silver only: now as the ſum to be

raiſed

raiſed yearly is more than all the money now in the colonies; and as it will be difficult for them to find money enough the next year even to pay their taxes; it is impoſſible they ſhould be able, at the ſame time, to ſend over large ſums to our merchants for Engliſh goods.

The taxes that are paid in this iſland ſoon amount to more than the ſum of our current money, yet we don't feel any inconveniencies in geting money to pay new Taxes, becauſe the money being paid in the iſland, ſtays here and circulates tomorrow into the hands that paid it to-day, but this Rule does not apply to the coloniſts, for the money to be paid by taxes, is to be ſent out of their country never to return, and the balance of trade being always in our Favour, they are obliged to ſend us caſh even on that account; a precarious trade with the Spaniards being their principal ſource of money, and that not ſufficient, even when

our

ur cutters are removed, to pay their debts with our merchants, for Britiſh manufactures, much leſs to pay both for our ſtamps and manufactures. But as the ſtamps *muſt* be paid for, our manufactures muſt fail of courſe, ſince they *cannot* be paid for. This Misfortune ſeems greater, as it is perhaps the only accident that could have prevented our trade with the coloniſts from continuing and encreaſing for many ages. The colonies produce all the neceſſaries of life, and would produce all its luxuries with a little care, the inhabitants have hitherto neglected all ſorts of manufacture, turning their chief Attention to huſbandry. Thus, with wheat, rice, indigo, tobacco, hemp, timber, &c. they paid moſt of their debts. While they conſumed our manufactures, their way of living was perfectly ſuited to our intereſt, who live by trade and manufactures, it was alſo ſuited to their convenience, hence they would have continued in this tract, for as

they

they are accuſtomed to Huſbandry, and from our New acquiſitions may ſuſtain land enough for that purpoſe, and as huſbandry is the natural employment of all infant countries, nothing but the preſent violent neceſſity, could have turned their attention to manufactures, thus in a few years they would have required more Engliſh goods than all we make at preſent in this iſland. The dream is pleaſing, but it is like to be no more than a dream, for the Stamp-act with the addition of a few Cutters, have done more in one year to promote American manufactures, than the natural progreſs of arts with all the additional arguments of frugality would have produced in an hundred years; not that our coloniſts have already felt the iron hand of neceſſity, but they ſee a Stamp-Act coming from a quarter whence they thought it could not come, perhaps another act may come cloſe at its heels, at this rate it is time for them to *make* thoſe arti-

articles that they ſhall never be able to *purchaſe*. This, at leaſt, Sir, is more than Theory, whoever takes the trouble of enquiring, will find that our commiſſions from North America the laſt year have been almoſt a million ſhort of what they uſually have been; another year muſt deduct another million, unleſs the act be repealed; but ſuppoſe the act ſhould continue, let us ſee what we ſhall get in return for this damage of trade, not to mention the univerſal uneaſineſs we continue to give to our fellow ſubjects.

The balance of trade, as was already obſerved, between us and our American colonies (excluding our conqueſts) is computed to be more than half a million *per ann.* in our favour; by this means alone we us'd to get *all the money* that our coloniſts had, and if they ſhould ever get more money, we were ſure to get that alſo; for proof of this I appeal to facts. The Americans always ow'd our

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merchants greater ſums than all the current money in their country would pay; and tho', during the late war, ſeveral millions were ſent thither to pay the expences of our troops, the coloniſts did not retain that money, for as money increaſed their commiſſions increaſed, ſo that towards the end of the war they conſumed eight or nine hundred thouſand pounds worth of Engliſh goods more than at the beginning, and at the peace they were three times as much in our debt as they had been ten years before that, nor had they money enough then to pay the third part of that debt. As it is evident that the profits of our trade alone muſt have continued to bring us *all the money* our coloniſts ſhould ever poſſeſs, I don't ſee how the Stamp Act can poſſibly bring us *more*, ſince the Americans are not able to coin money as our demands increaſe, nor are they like a certain tree which is ſaid to grow ſtronger by heavy burthens; the

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conſequence is plain, the more we receive for ſtamps, the leſs we ſhall receive for other manufactures. Let us now examine whether it be more profitable for Great Britain to receive two hundred and even three hundred thouſand pounds annually by way of tax, or to receive it as the neat profit of trade with a diſtant country. I conceive the latter is moſt profitable, and this follows *a fortiori* if the riches of a nation conſiſt in the induſtry and number of its inhabitants; for the caſe of trade ſuppoſes that we obtain as much caſh with the addition of induſtry and numbers. When Great Britain gains 300,000 *l. per ann.* by her manufactures, it muſt be allowed that ſhe ſells to the amount of 1,500,000 *. How many people

* We compute that the trade and manufactures of Great Britain have added at leaſt two millions to the number of its inhabitants, then ſuppoſing that only 200,000 people are maintained by manufacturing, vending, &c. goods to the amount of 1,500,000 l. it follows that where two millions of additional ſubjects are maintained, the ex-

may be employed in making vending and exporting goods to the value of a million and a half, alſo in receiving and ſelling the ſeveral ſpecies of returns for theſe goods, and in providing victuals for all thoſe manufacturers, porters, merchant-ſhip carpenters, and ſailors? By comparing the increaſe of our nation with that of our manufactures, I ſuppoſe it may employ two hundred thouſand people at leaſt. On which ſuppoſition the account is thus ſtated:

Continue the Stamp-Act and we ſhall receive 300,000l. per ann. into our treaſury, but we muſt injure our trade, and loſe two hundred thouſand ſubjects, who being induſtrious people, are now the bulwark, ſupport and riches of this nation.	Repeal the Stamp-act, and we ſhall alſo receive 300,000l. per ann. not all in our treaſury, but in the hands of the traders and induſtrious people in this iſland, and we ſhall ſave two hundred thouſand of our beſt ſubjects from inevitable perdition.

ports of manufactures, &c. ſhould be fifteen millions, which we ſuppoſe is much above the truth. Hence it follows that we muſt loſe more than two huudred thouſand ſubjects by the loſs of trade, which annually brings us 300,000 l. *per Ann.* eſpecially if that ſum be gained by manufactures.

To the above account may be added, what all the ſubjects we ſave by the encouragement of trade muſt pay in this Iſland, and the Loſs of them would make a conſiderable deduction from the annual ſums paid to the government. But the loſs of ſubjects we ſhall ſuſtain by this act is not to be confined to Great Britain; our colonies muſt ſuffer alſo; they have hitherto received great additions from Germany and other kingdoms; Penſylvania alone is ſaid to contain thirty thouſand Germans, who are, without exception, the moſt frugal, temperate, and induſtrious people in North America; they fled thither from oppreſſion, in hopes of becoming freemen, and having ſome hand in legiſlature, and the diſpoſal of their own eſtates; but ſtrangers may think the times are now changed, and may incline to ſtay at home and be tax'd by their own princes, inſtead of going to America to be tax'd by a diſtant Parliament. Nor is this the only loſs our colonies

may

may ſuſtain; the diligence and induſtry of the preſent inhabitants are alſo in danger of failing, in conſequence of the Stamp Act, for while nothing tends to promote the happineſs, induſtry, wealth and numbers of any people ſo much as perfect freedom, nothing produces the contrary effects ſo much as giving them reaſon to think they have loſt their freedom, and that all their poſſeſſions depend on a precarious footing.

Altho' ſome of our fellow-ſubjects have treated the Americans with great freedom and contempt, yet it ſhould be remembered that Britain owes her preſent importance and power to them alone; witneſs the vaſt cities along the coaſt of England and Scotland, which are ſprung from contemptible villages only by the American trade, and ſhould that trade unfortunately be ruined, they muſt return to their former contemptible ſtate, and this may be the conſequence of a Stamp Act, inſtead of

that additional treaſure which was at firſt expected.

As dark ſcenes are always diſagreable, I ſhould not deſire you to anticipate the light in which Great Britain may appear fifty years hence, if our trade with the colonies ſhould not even continue to increaſe inſtead of decreaſing; but I would juſt obſerve that we have at this inſtant no other trade in the world that can be depended on; the French have rivalled and underſold us in every port of Europe; the kingdom of Portugal, the laſt and beſt market where we could trade to advantage, is juſt now giving us preſages of what we may ſoon expect from that quarter; we may complain of theſe misfortunes, though perhaps it may not be in our power to prevent them. But the loſs of our American trade may be prevented, and by this trade alone, if properly encouraged, Great Britain may continue the miſtreſs of the world, but if that ſhould accidentally

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ly be injured, or cut off, by our preſent adminiſtration, Great Britain muſt receive a wound that can never be healed.

In fine, Sir, I have endeavoured to prove that our Engliſh ſubjects on the continent of America are very little in our debt.--- That if the debt were much greater, we ſhould recover no part of it by the late Stamp Act, on the contrary, --- That we ſhall loſe, inſtead of gaining by that tax, becauſe the coloniſts being univerſally diſcontent, not without ſome appearance of reaſon, will no longer conſume our manufactures, and even though they were deſirous of conſuming them as formerly, they cannot poſſibly pay for them under ſo heavy a tax, but whatever ſums we receive in the way of tax, we ſhall loſe at leaſt as much in the way of trade, and with this immenſe loſs of trade we ſhall ſuſtain a ſimilar loſs of our beſt ſubjects. Therefore *Repealing*

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the Stamp Act is the moſt probable way of ſecuring the ſtrength, increaſe and riches of Great Britain and America. If I have ſucceeded in this proof a longer letter is not requiſite, if otherwiſe it would be improper.

I am, &c.

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THE LATE

OCCURRENCES

IN

NORTH AMERICA,

AND

POLICY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

CONSIDERED.

Tantane vos generis tenuit Fiducia Veſtri?
Jam Cœlum Terramq: meo ſine numine, Venti,
Miſcere, et tantas auditis tollere Moles?
Quos Ego, *Sed Motos præſtat componere Fluctus.*

VIRG.

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THE OCCURRENCES, &c.

THE Britiſh colonies in North America were originally eſtabliſhed by Engliſhmen, who fled thither from the enthuſiaſm, tyranny, uſurpation and bigotry, which at different times diſtracted this kingdom; as Engliſhmen, they had a right to the liberties of this nation, and were under the bond of allegiance to it, whereſoever they went. The charters granted to them by ſeveral of our kings, reſerve the one, and confirm the other.

Theſe charters appear to ſome people illegal, and beyond the power of the crown to grant; but, to judge rightly of them, we muſt carry our thoughts back to former times, when the crown had, or pretended to have, all power of government, even of

this kingdom, veſted in itſelf; and had an undoubted ſovereignty over, and right of diſpoſition, of all conqueſts or acquiſitions whatſoever; and beſides, the nature of America was ſuch, that no encouragement could be too great to allure people to thoſe countries and climates, which were then ſo inhoſpitable; but, whether theſe charters are legal or not, ought by no means be queſtioned *now*; for upon the faith of them many people embarked their lives and fortunes, and, taking up their reſidence in the wilds of America, eſtabliſhed colonies, and extended thereby the trade of Great Britain to its preſent greatneſs.

The colonies are ſecured by theſe charters from the deſpotiſm of the crown, of whom they are perhaps as independant, as the inhabitants of Great Britain can be. But from this claim of independance of the crown, which the coloniſts inſiſt on, reſults the neceſſity of a dependance on ſome other power;—found policy, the nature of government and modern colonization require it.—This power muſt be the parliament of Great Britain, which hath, and ought to have, the full and abſolute ſovereignty over all the Britiſh dominions.

If this ſovereignty ſeems lately to have been called in queſtion, it ought by no means to be imputed to the ſpirit of diſloy-

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alty or independance, but to thoſe errors which the beſt-intentioned men ſometimes fall into; for evidently ſeeing the futility of thoſe reaſons, which are generally thrown out to prove the right of the ſovereignty of parliament, they have been unhappily led to doubt the right itſelf.

They proteſt againſt the principles of the writers on the laws of nature and nations, as deſtructive of all liberty; the writers on the civil law they conſider as the tools of power; and the writers and expoſitors of the common law of this land had not, they ſay, the colonies of Great Britain in contemplation, when they delivered thoſe *dicta*, which are diſingenuouſly made uſe of againſt them.

They acknowledge, that the people of Great Britain may be either actually or virtually repreſented in parliament, but deny that the colonies can in any manner be conſidered in that light: the putting them on the ſame footing with Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, rich and flouriſhing towns, when an argument is to be raiſed againſt their liberties, and denying them in the ſame breath, the right of Old Sarum, Aldborough, and fifty other impoveriſhed boroughs, is moſt ridiculous and unfair. The comparing them to copyholders, formerly in the vileſt bondage, and therefore particularly excluded the leaſt ſhare in go-

 vernment,

vernment, they conſider as an inſult; the treating them as women, as infants, and the dregs of the city of London, is a plain declaration of your opinion, that they are without property and integrity, will or capacity, to reconcile them to the want of repreſentation. You tell them, not one third of the kingdom is repreſented; but they deny it, and inſiſt with Mr. Blakſtone, in his late maſterly performance, "that ſuch "*only* are entirely excluded from the right "of voting, as can have no will of their "own, and that there is hardly a "free agent to be found, but what is "entitled to a vote in ſome place or other "in this kingdom." Have we, ſay the Americans, no wills of our own? Are we not free agents? but could it be proved, that not one third part of the kingdom have a right of voting, yet it would not avail, unleſs you ſhewed at the ſame time, that the intereſts of all the kingdom was not the ſame; that the repreſentatives of the third part of the kingdom had no knowledge of, and therefore neglected or injured the intereſts of the other two; you muſt ſhew likewiſe, that the intereſts of minors and women, copyholders and the loweſt handycraft man in the kingdom, are not interwoven with the intereſts of every family and man in the kingdom; you muſt ſhew too, that minors and women

have

have no relations, and that their eſtates give them no influence; that the ſame man who was a copyholder, might not have freehold lands; and that a tax upon trade is not felt by any but the merchant and manufacturer.

The comparing them to Jerſey and Guernſey, the miſerable remains of your Norman dominion, and mere appendages of the crown, cannot ſubject them to the ſame laws; and that even Ireland itſelf, which is looked upon as a conquered country, ought not to be mentioned as a rule for your conduct towards the colonies, which were originally eſtabliſhed by Engliſhmen, with aſſurances of the fulleſt enjoyment of liberty. But that, with regard to Ireland itſelf, tho' the ſovereignty of the parliament of Great Britain over it is plainly aſſerted, yet you are very cautious in the exerciſe of it, particularly with reſpect to internal taxation.

Theſe reaſons, which are generally urged as a ſufficient ground for eſtabliſhing the right of the ſupremacy of the parliament of Great Britain over the colonies, not being quite ſatisfactory to the Americans, they have been led to queſtion the right itſelf, and conſidering the grounds thereof, and the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, they have taught themſelves to think,

That whatever affects all, ſhould be debated by all, ſo that knowledge and mutual intereſt

intereſt will prevent miſtakes and partiality; that it is not to be imagined every repreſentative of the people of Great-Britain has a knowledge of America, for tho' they may have taken much pains in croſſing the Alps, and had much pleaſure in converſing with the Ciceroni of Rome, yet it is poſſible they may be entirely unacquainted with the condition of New England, and the nature of lumber. That if a tax is laid on any branch of buſineſs, or upon a particular part of Great Britain, a knowledge can be ſoon had of the propriety and expediency of it: that the intereſts and condition of America is but little known: that no impoſition can be laid on one part of the kingdom, without affecting the reſt: that the taxing America falls ſolely upon that country, without affecting Great Britain, which aſſumes that power for its own peculiar eaſe and emolument, which is not a very delicate light to conſider this country in. That countries and places, which have particular intereſts to ſupport, ought to be repreſented in parliament: that it was on this principle the two Univerſities had the power given them of electing members; and that if a body of people are to be taxed by laws, which they have actually no ſhare in making, the ſame miſchiefs will enſue which are marked in the preamble to 34 and 35 H. viii. c. 13. which gave a right to the city of Cheſter of chuſing repreſentatives,

preſentatives, " That the inhabitants there-
" of have been oftentimes touched and
" grieved with acts and ſtatutes made with-
" in the ſaid court of parliament, as well
" derogatory unto the moſt antient juriſ-
" diction, liberties, and privileges thereof,
" as prejudicial unto the *common weal, qui-*
" *etneſs, and peace*, of his Majeſty's ſub-
" jects."

If then the ſovereignty of the parliament of Great Britain over the colonies is founded on policy of government, and not on the principles which demand the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants of Great Britain to the laws, namely, their conſent to them, as either actually or virtually repreſented in the making of them, it behoves thoſe who have this right to be particularly attentive in the exerciſe of it. And for that purpoſe, it is their eſſential duty not to deſpiſe the colonies, but to attain the beſt knowledge of them in their power: not to conſider them as a ſet of vagabonds and tranſports, but an induſtrious, honeſt, and free people.

And in a word, not to adopt any ſyſtem of partiality or prejudice, of ſuſpicion or contempt, the marks of a wicked and weak miniſtry, but in all inſtances to treat them with tenderneſs and liberality as fellow ſubjects, and be convinced and act accordingly, that the intereſts of Great Britain, and its American colonies, are inſeperable, and that

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the advantages of the one will not be eventually promoted, if the intereſts of the other are ſacrificed to low and temporary expedients, and on the ſpur of particular occaſions.

Should this ever be the caſe, we ought not to be ſurpriſed they ſhould loudly complain and boldly proteſt againſt being made the property of an unpopular miniſter, who, unable to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies in Great Britain, ſhould ſeize on the friendleſs and unſupported Americans, and propoſing plans of œconomy to this country, and pretending an extraordinary ſagacity into future events, ſhould form a ſyſtem deſtructive of public confidence, and the commercial intereſts of both countries.

But it is urged, that however this right of parliament is founded, the Americans openly declare againſt it; and inſolently claiming an independency, they are guilty of treaſon, and ought to be treated as rebels.

But nothing can be more unadviſeable than the making uſe of opprobrious expreſſions, and the utmoſt exertion of power againſt ſuppoſed action, the nature and complexion of which we have no authoritative judgment of: the late occurrences in North America are of that kind, we neither can, nor ought to give a particular name to them, until we have information of their motives:

for

for ſhould we raſhly and falſly brand the conduct of any part of his Majeſty's ſubjects with odious appellations, it will appear to every one as proceeding from the malice and indignation of party: but ſhould we act ſo very injudiciouſly, as not only to call, but treat our American brethren as ſeditious, revolting, and rebellious, at a time when nothing can be farther from their thoughts, we muſt expect our want of charity in ſpeech and violence of conduct will be reſented by that ſpirit, which virtue and loyalty, once queſtioned, cannot help ſhewing. And how much would they have to anſwer for, whoſe blindneſs and obſtinacy brought on an actual defection of as beneficial and as loyal a part of the dominions of this kingdom as his Majeſty can glory in? But ſhould the colonies be really averſe to this government, and ſhould we have full proof of their inclination to fall off from that duty and affection they have hitherto ſhewed, ſeverity and rigour would be exerted even then too ſoon, if we heard not their grievances, and cordially endeavoured to give a reaſonable ſatisfaction to their juſt complaints; for tho' we live in ſociety, we muſt attend to the feelings of nature; and as we live in a land of liberty, we muſt make ſome allowances even for the groundleſs reſentments of freemen.—Our news papers and coffee-houſe politicians have been lately full of invectives

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againſt the diſpoſition and conduct of the Americans, and uſing foul mouthed reproach, and inſtigating the moſt violent methods, ſeem to be endeavouring to drive matters to the worſt and laſt extremity, a civil war : and yet the ſame news papers and coffee-houſe politicians, not long ſince, made uſe of every plauſible turn, and every palliative, to excuſe, nay, to juſtify the chicanery of the French, in not paying the Canada bills ; and the want of honour and humanity of the Spaniards, in refuſing to diſcharge the ranſom of Manilla. Theſe two nations were lately declared enemies to Great Britain, and will ever be the oppoſers of her intereſts ; and yet we treated both with tenderneſs, politeneſs, and condeſcention, becauſe we were by all means to avoid a war, though nothing can be worſe policy than to preſerve the public repoſe by yielding any point of intereſt or honour. What can we think of ſuch men and ſuch politics ? they paſs over unnoticed the open violations of ſolemn treaties, and blacken with ſcurrility and ignominy actions and men, whoſe motives and temper they are groſsly ignorant of. A war is to be carefully avoided, in their opinion, with aliens, and the eternal enemies and rivals of this kingdom, but to be immediately entered into, and purſued with rigour and vengeance againſt its deſcendants and ſubjects. A civil war is per-

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haps in their notions leſs injurious to the happineſs and intereſts of a people than a national one; but I hope Great Britain will never be governed by ſuch men, and ſuch politics; the preſent times, I am ſure, do not require ſuch councils.

The critical ſituation we are in demands deliberation and tenderneſs, and not raſhneſs and violence; we ought to act diſpaſſionately for the mutual intereſts of both countries, and not in a ſpirit of party to the public confuſion. We ought to conſider the object for which our colonies were eſtabliſhed, and how far it has been purſued and encouraged, or neglected and ruined; we ought to be fully acquainted with the temper and condition of thoſe who compoſe them, and of what benefit they have been, and what diſpoſition they have had hitherto to this kingdom; but we ought above all things to weigh in our minds, over and over again, the probable and poſſible conſequences of treating thoſe as enemies who have it in their power to be our moſt beneficial friends: we muſt conſider, whether the terror of arms ever convinced the judgment, and conciliated the affections, and whether the Americans can, or will, ever be cordially united to you, if moderation, the beſt means of governing, is called puſillanimity, and looked upon as below the dignity of autho-

rity. Should compulſory means be determined on as abſolutely neceſſary to quiet the Americans, the die is caſt, *aut Cæſar aut nullus*. Every man of the leaſt experience in Great Britain knows the conſequence; every man in America trembles at it; it will be the ruin of both countries. It is probable indeed, conſidering the weakneſs of the Americans, that Great Britain will come off triumphant in the conteſt, but the victory will be truly deplorable. Should it be doubtful for any time, that alone will make you repent your recourſe to violence; but ſhould you ſucceed at laſt, all confidence and cordiality being interrupted, you neither can, nor will, treat the Americans for the future as ſubjects, but will reduce them to the moſt implicit obedience. But remember, that though the Americans are naturally good ſubjects, they will ever be bad ſlaves, the difficulty will be great to keep them in the irkſome ſtate of ſervility, and the expence and watchfulneſs neceſſary for it will entirely exhauſt you: for though the Engliſh, as it is ſaid, will, when they ceaſe to be freemen, be the moſt abject ſlaves the Americans, on the contrary, ſhould they now be reduced to that miſerable ſtate, will ever retain a ſpirit for, and longing after liberty; and the difference between the temper of the two people in this deplorable event, will be owing to the different cauſes

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which produce it. Whenever the people of this iſland ceaſe to be free, it will be when they are ſo thoroughly corrupted, as baſely to betray their own rights, and become willing ſlaves; but the Americans now have the independance which a bountiful nature gives, and the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of liberty; and therefore force alone can deprive them of their enjoyment of it. I ſaid it was probable that Great Britain would at laſt be triumphant, but it is poſſible that her moſt vigorous efforts may be baffled; notwithſtanding the greatneſs of her power, and the weakneſs of America.

Every war is doubtful, power has frequently ruined itſelf by confidence, and weakneſs grown ſtrong by deſpair. Hiſtory affords many examples to prove the truth of this obſervation: the eſtabliſhment of the United Provinces, about two hundred years ago, is an inconteſtable one; and is well worthy of our particular attention at this time; for it will enable us to obſerve the conſequences of weak or violent councils, of corrupt or ill conduct, of faction or obſtinacy, which weakens and diſſolves the firmeſt government; and if our condition is ſo critical, as to confound even the beſt heads and beſt hearts in the kingdom, in determining what ought to be done, to extricate us from our difficulties; the riſe and progreſs of the diſturbances in the Low

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Countries will inſtruct us at leaſt in the negative kind of knowledge, of what ought not to be done. Some people may, perhaps, imagine, that the wiſdom, thus attained, is at beſt very uncertain; for tho' all things are poſſible, and what has been, may be; yet hardly any one thinks he is liable to the ſame miſery another has fallen into, becauſe a change in time, fortune, condition, and a variety of other circumſtances, make him an exception to the former rule. But the truth is, that ſo long as human nature continues what it is, the ſame cauſes will generally produce the ſame effects; at leaſt it will be conſiſtent with human prudence, to conduct ourſelves as if they would, when the circumſtances of the times are ſuch, as to leave us no other rule to go by.

The Spaniſh monarchy was, about the year 1559, when the peace of Cambray was made, the moſt reſpected power in Europe. Spain, the Milaneſe, the Two Sicilies, the Low Countries, and the new diſcovered World, were the formidable members of it: the ambition of France was checked, it held Italy in awe, and England was ſubſervient to its purpoſes; conſiderable acquiſitions were made by the peace, beſides the particular objects of the war.

Thus circumſtanced, Spain had nothing to do but, by cultivating the arts of peace, eſtabliſh its extenſive empire on the firmeſt foun-

foundation. But, unfortunately, the peace of Cambray, which reſtored quiet to all the declared enemies of Spain, produced animoſities, civil diſſentions, and open ruptures amongſt her own ſubjects, to the miſery of individuals, and diſmemberment of the empire.

The means by which this ſignal ruin was brought about, may be worth inveſtigating. The firſt blow given to it, came from a quarter the leaſt expected, from its weakneſs and former loyalty of conduct towards Spain. But there is nothing ſo unlikely, which particular accidents may not produce; and the greateſt empires have fallen, by means apparently the moſt contemptible.

The Low Countries, which were divided with many ſtates, with diſtinct governments, were over-run by the northern nations, who ravaged the greateſt part of Europe, particularly the Saxons, who, fierce in arms, eſtabliſhed and maintained freedom whereſoever they went; for, fighting without pay, and not for the ambition of another, they conquered for themſelves, and were therefore attentive to ſecure the public liberty againſt the artifice or violence of thoſe who might claim a ſuperiority over them. As they were bred to arms, they never forgot the uſe of them, and kept themſelves free thereby from open inſults; and, leſt cunning and time ſhould injure

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their rights, they claimed and exerciſed the greateſt liberties; and, amongſt the reſt, the right of determiding diſputes about the ſucceſſion of their princes, when doubtful or controverted; and deciding thoſe between the ſeveral towns, of raiſing a militia for defence of their countries, in a war amongſt their neighbours; of adviſing, in time of danger abroad, or diſcontents at home; and upon any new impoſition that was neceſſary upon the people: the uſe of the free aſſemblies was another of thoſe liberties, whereof the inhabitants of thoſe provinces were fond and tenacious. Theſe rights ſeem to be eſſential to contribute them freemen, but there were other conceſſions and graces from their princes who ruled over them, which, being once granted, they had a full aud complete title to.

Their wars, which were generally ſhort, were with princes and competitors of their own ſize and ſtrength, unleſs indeed they fell into the quarrels of England and France, and then they were engaged on the ſkirts only, the groſs of it being waged between the two kings, and their ſmaller ſtates were made uſe of for the commodiouſneſs of a diverſion, rather than any great weight they might have in the main of the affair.

The mighty growth of the commerce of this extenſive country (attributed by Commines to the goodneſs of the princes, and

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the eaſe and ſafety of the people) enabled Spain, into whoſe hands it came, to be a match for France. Philip of Burgundy eſpecially was a wiſe and good prince, loved by his ſubjects, and eſteemed by his enemies; and taking his meaſures ſo well upon the decline of the Engliſh greatneſs abroad, by their diſſentions at home, ended his quarrels in France, by a ſafe and honourable peace; "ſo that he took," Sir William Temple ſays, "no pretence from "his greatneſs, or his wars, to change any "thing in the form of his government;" but Charles, the Hardy, aſked frequent and heavy contributions, which, gained at firſt by the credit of his father's government, and his own great deſigns, but at length rendered his people diſcontented, and himſelf diſeſteemed and unfortunate. In the time of Maximilian, ſeveral bodies of German troops were brought down into Flanders for their defence againſt France; and in the time of Charles V. a much greater number of Spaniards and Italians were introduced on the ſame account; but theſe demands of money, and theſe grievances by the introduction of ſoldiers, gave occaſion to no diſturbances at firſt, for Charles was of a generous and gentle nature, and dying, left to Philip the Second the Seventeen Provinces, in a condition as peaceable and loyal as either prince or ſubject could deſire; but

being ſoon treated with various marks of contempt and diſtruſt, and the foreign ſoldiers and thoſe exactions which the war had made neceſſary, and therefore readily ſubmitted to, being continued, the inhabitants of the Provinces withdrew that affection and attachment they had hitherto ſhewed upon all occaſions.

The government of the Low Countries being beneath the immediate conſideration of the Auſtrian greatneſs, the whole was devolved on the Dutcheſs of Parma, aſſiſted by the *Cardinal de Granville*, who being the adviſer of the continuation of the foreign troops and exactions of money for their ſupport, was looked upon as the chief promoter or inſtrument of their oppreſſions, and not of their defence, when a general peace had left them no enemies to fear.

The people complained with a general conſent and paſſion, and the States enforced their complaints by concurring with them; but all uneaſineſs and remonſtrances being diſregarded, the provinces firſt contriving various delays, abſolutely refuſed at laſt to raiſe any more money for the pay of the Spaniſh troops; and ſuch was the univerſal deſpair, that, neglecting their dikes, they declared they had rather be drowned by the ſea, than held in ſubjection by the foreign forces.

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This ſpirit of the people, alarming the court, the troops were recalled, and thereby the public tranquility reſtored.

But it was interrupted in the year 1565, by the reſolution that was taken to annul all the laws, impoſe arbitrary taxes, create new biſhops, with their ſpiritual courts, and judges, at the will of the king, or pope, and above all to eſtabliſh the Inquiſition, that extraordinary court of judicature, contrary to the ancient laws and cuſtoms of the country, and which they could not introduce into Milan or Naples; and, to ſum up the whole, all theſe violations of public and private liberty, of temporal and ſpiritual rights, were to be aſſerted aud maintained by the hangman and foreign troops; means which, Sir William Temple ſays, "are "commonly made uſe of to ſuppreſs civil "commotions, but were, in this inſtance, "the occaſion of their breaking out in "Flanders."

For the principal lords meeting together at Bruſſels, repreſented their rights and infringements thereof to the Governeſs.—"This congreſs," ſays Voltaire," "was "called a conſpiracy at Madrid, but was "conſidered in the Low Countries as a "moſt lawful act; and it is certain the "confederates were not rebels."—Their petitions being liſtened to, and the rigour of the edicts about religion and the In-

quiſition being remitted, all noiſe of diſcontent and tumult was appeaſed, and the governeſs was both obeyed and honoured.

But it being ſoon after diſcovered, that the blackeſt deſigns were formed by the court of Madrid, who diſavowed the former moderation and juſtice, the provinces were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment; but that ſoon gave way to rage, which began to appear in their looks, their ſpeech, their bold meetings and libels, and was increaſed by the miſerable ſpectacle of innumerable executions. And what added inſult to oppreſſion was, Philips inſiſted that he was abſolved from thoſe oaths, whereby he confirmed their liberties, by the ſupreme power of the Pope. "This reaſon (ſays Voltaire) "might poſſibly have great weight with "Roman Catholics, but naturally enraged "the Proteſtants, and confirmed them in "their diſaffection."

In the beginning of the year 1566, there appeared in the citizens an open contempt of authority; executions were hindered, officers abuſed, and priſons forced. This was followed by a confederacy of the Lords never to ſuffer the inquiſition in the Low Countries, as contrary to all laws, ſacred and prophane, and exceeding the cruelty of former tyranny. Upon which, all reſolution of force or rigour growing unſafe for government, the Ducheſs of Parma was obliged

obliged to uſe gentle methods, and promiſe, with the concurrence of the court of Spain, a full redreſs of grievances; but whether a redreſs was never intended, or from the dilaterineſs of Spaniſh councils was deferred too long, it certainly came too late; the flame broke out, and the revolt appeared univerſal.

But the richer and more prudent men of the provinces, particularly the Prince of Orange, and the Counts Egmont and Horne, feeling the ill effects, and abhorring the rage of popular tumults, as the worſt miſchief that can befall any ſtate, exerted their utmoſt vigour, loyalty, and that influence which the public affection gave them, to appeaſe the general diſcontent; by which means, and the prudent and moderate management of the governeſs, all the provinces were reſtored to their former peace, obedience, and appearance at leaſt of loyalty.

But ſcarce was this happy event brought about, when the arrival of the Duke of Alva, with ten thouſand of the beſt Spaniſh and Italian ſoldiers, under the command of the choiceſt officers which the late war had bred up, ſtruck all the Low Countries with aſtoniſhment, ſubmiſſion, and deſpair.

The trading part of the town and country retired out of the provinces in ſuch vaſt numbers, that in a few days one hundred thouſand people, taking their money and

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effects, abandoned their country. "So "great antipathy ever appears (ſays Sir "William Temple) between merchants "and ſoldiers, the firſt pretending to be "ſafe under laws, which the other makes "ſubject to his ſword and his will."

The Dutcheſs of Parma, who was always for the mildeſt meaſures, thought the public tranquility ought not to be diſturbed by new oppreſſions, nor the royal authority leſſened by being made a party to a war againſt its ſubjects, conſtantly diſſuaded againſt the preſent conduct; but her advice being diſregarded, ſhe retired from the government of the Low Countries, not chuſing to be anſwerable for meaſures ſo pernicious to the public intereſt.

The provinces had demanded, ſome time before, the recall of the Cardinal de Granville, who returning to Madrid, hated by, and hating the country he came from, influenced the court in all its meaſures, and the Duke of Alva, inveſted with unuſual powers, exerciſed them accordingly with the utmoſt rigour in violation of the laws of the country and humanity, and to the diſhonour of the King, and the ruin of the Auſtrian greatneſs.

The miſery which theſe councils introduced are ſo ſhocking, that we cannot read of them, even at this day, without horror and deteſtation.

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" The towns (fays Sir William Temple) " ſtomached the breach of their charters; " the people of their liberties; the Knights " of the Golden Fleece the charter of their " order; all complain of the new and odi- " ous courts of judicature; of the diſuſe of " the ſtates, and introduction of the forces; " but all in vain, the King was conſtant to " what he had determined, the Duke of " Alva was in his nature cruel and exora- " ble; the new army was fierce, brave, and " deſirous of nothing more than a rebellion " in that country; the people were in a " rage, but awed and unheaded; all was " ſeizure and proceſs, confiſcation and pu- " niſhment, blood and horror, inſolence " and dejection, puniſhments executed, and " meditated revenge."

The council of Blood, which Alva had eſtabliſhed, ſoon lopt off the leſſer branches, but the greater took longer time in hewing down; but at length the Counts Egmont and Horne, notwithſtanding their merits to the crown of Spain, and earneſt ſollicitations from all quarters in their favour, were ſacrificed to the ſpirit of pride, cruelty, and diſtruſt.—Their blood was the firſt cement of the republic of the united provinces.

William Prince of Orange, an anceſtor of our great deliverer, finding his life ſought after, fled into Germany, being unable, without one foot of land, and without men

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or money, to oppoſe his country's enemy—but perſecution ſupplied him with every thing, it collected friends, it raiſed contributions, it gave reſentment, and that inveterate courage called deſpair, but being weak he was hardly ever ſucceſsful againſt his potent enemies, who inſulted over the liberties of his country in the groſſeſt manner, and moved with no remorſe, and terrified by no threats from a broken, divided, and unarmed people, and thinking forms and meaſures were not now neceſſary to be obſerved, demanded a general tax of the hundredth part of each man's property to be raiſed immediately, and for the time to come the twentieth of all immoveables, and the tenth of what was ſold.—" It was wonderful (ſays " Voltaire) that the maſter of Mexico and " Peru ſhould be thus impoveriſhed, as to " ſtand in need of ſuch taxes."—This rapacity and injuſtice compleats the general diſſatisfaction, the popular fury is almoſt incredible, the ſluices are opened regardleſs of themſelves, ſo that the enemy is overwhelmed, the women liſt in companies, repair breeches, give alarms, and beat up quarters; the Duke of Alva in return ſlaughters innocent perſons of both ſexes without remorſe, and both ſides give into the moſt horrid practices and returns of ignomy, cruelty, and ſcorn—the unavoidable conſequences of civil diſſention—but this is

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a ſcene too dreadful to be long dwelt on. In ſhort, therefore, the Auſtrian greatneſs, after having tried every method which force, policy, and wickedneſs could ſuggeſt to reduce its revolted ſubjects, was obliged at laſt to treat with, and acknowledge them, in the moſt humiliating manner, as a free and independent people.

It is not to be imagined however, that natural courage, or even deſpair, could have brought the affairs of the united provinces to this fortunate concluſion, if they had not been ſometimes underhand and at other times openly aſſiſted and ſupported by the other powers of Europe, who envied or dreaded the greatneſs, which Spain had attained to by the peace of Cambray.

Many obſervations might be made on this detail of the riſe and progreſs of the diſturbances in the Low Countries; one is moſt obvious, which is: That the impoſing taxes and introducing troops into the country, when a general peace made both unneceſſary, were the firſt grounds of diſcontent, which was fermented by eſtabliſhing biſhopricks and judicatures, unknown to the antient laws and cuſtoms, and queſtioning at the ſame time thoſe rights and charters which the people claimed from their former princes; but that the general uneaſineſs, occaſioned by this conduct, might have been eaſily appeaſed, if the miſtakes in government had

been corrected in time: The dutchefs of Parma, wife and moderate in her difpofition, advifed it; but the cardinal de Granville, thinking his reputation for integrity, fagacity and knowledge, depended on the profecution of thofe meafures he had formerly advifed, ftrenuoufly oppofed every mitigation, and infifted on the vigorous execution of the edicts.—This violence the times would not bear—and therefore the lofs of the United Provinces, with their extenfive and beneficial trade, muft be imputed to this *one man*.

A ferious conſideration of this remarkable event in hiftory ought to alarm thofe, who now feem eagerly bent to drive things to extremities. But perhaps, however paffionate they may appear in fpeech, they are in their own natures timorous, and would be fearful of anfwering for the effects and conſequences of thofe violent councils which they give to others. Should this be the cafe, their conduct muft be imputed to the rage and indignation of party and difappointed ambition. It is in vain then we trouble ourfelves with fuch men, but let us rather apply to thofe whofe principles are founded on liberty, and are guided by moderation; and thofe who have inclination as well as abilities to extricate this kingdom and its dominions from their preſent confufion and miſerable condition.

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The diſcontent and uneaſineſs, ſo univerſal amongſt his Majeſty's ſubjects in North-America, cannot but have the worſt effects on the intereſts of both countries; it would therefore be the honeſt part of all the ſubjects, on both ſides of the Atlantic, to endeavour to appeaſe the preſent ferment: For ſhould it be increaſed, or even be kept up to the pitch it now is at, the conſequences will be moſt ruinous. If it ariſes from the ſpirit of abſolute independance, that ſpirit ought to be checked; but if from an injudicious conduct and hard and undeſerved treatment from this country, that conduct and treatment ought to be changed.

The loyalty of the American colonies, has, till very lately, been unimpeached; they have diligently laboured for you in peace, and zealouſly co-operated with you in war; deſcended from this country, they have the ſtrongeſt attachment to it; and cloſely connected with it, all their produce centers here; they glory in the ſame king, have the ſame religion, and claim a right to the ſame liberties. Theſe are ſtrong motives of affection to you, but ſhould theſe ties be looſened, the difficulty of ſucceeding in the attempt of independency is ſo great, that nothing but the moſt unhappy times can force them to venture on it; but, I muſt confeſs, the beſt ſecurity this country can have of the obedience of the Americans, is their con-

viction of your good intentions towards them; for deſpair will give ſupernatural ſtrength.

Weak as they really are, ſhould ever their fidelity be ſhaken, they will ſoon become ſtrong by the malicious aſſiſtance of your rival neighbours, who will offer their ſervice with eagerneſs to your revolting ſubjects, and then contending with the powers of Europe, and with enemies ſtill more hoſtile, becauſe, actuated by deſpair, the event will be doubtful.

However, the imagination of thoſe people, who think that America will one day or other be independant of Great-Britain, is certainly not groundleſs.

But this is no ſufficient reaſon for fear, for this independance can hardly be brought about until ſome general calamity falls on Europe, or the protection which the colonies now claim from their ſeveral mother countries, is denied, or unable to be given from the particular diſtreſſes at home, power is ſubject to change; it is the natural courſe of things. The grandeur of the Roman empire is annihilated, and this iſland, formerly a province to it, and looked upon as almoſt out of the world, has a greater dominion than Rome ever prided itſelf in, and is now the centre of riches and authority. May it ever continue ſo! Nothing but its own bad policy can prevent it, the fear

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of evils may produce them, as the dread of death frequently puts a period to life.

There are indeed a ſet of men, who from dullneſs being totally ignorant of the colonies, or from pride, aſhamed to have a knowledge of them, talk of what *we*, for ſuch is their language, have done for them; what money *we* have ſpent; what blood *we* have laviſhed; and what trouble *we* have had in eſtabliſhing and protecting them to this day; and after a thouſand ſuch ſelf applauſes, declaiming againſt the baſeneſs ingratitude and rebellion of an obſtinate, ſenſeleſs and abandoned ſet of convicts, declare, if they had the government, they would—they know not what they would—Theſe therefore ſo preſuming and uninformed, it muſt be confeſſed, the Americans acknowledging only the authority of the parliament of Great-Britain, diſclaim even now all ſubordination.

The duties of a mother country and its colonies are reciprocal; the one expects encouragement and protection, and the other claims and ſecures to itſelf every advantage that an extenſive commerce can produce. I will not make any compariſon between Great-Britain and her American ſettlements, or ſay which of them has been moſt attentive to the diſcharge of their ſeveral duties. It would ir.itate perhaps one ſide or other; and this is not my inclination or deſign, but

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the Americans ought not to be accuſed of ingratitude, the exports and imports of Great-Britain will free them from that charge. If it is expected they ſhould for the future protect themſelves, it will, I am afraid, give them at leaſt that independance of mind, which a man, who hopes for no favours, generally has. It is poſſible indeed they may feel your coolneſs towards them in a worſe light: for recollecting the immenſe ſums of money you have ſpent in the defence of the Germans, Dutch, and Portugueſe, and indeed of almoſt all the other nations of Europe they think they have an equal right to your protection.

You have entered, ſay they, into the wars of theſe aliens to ſupport a fanciful balance of power, and that too with a profuſion of blood and money which has aſtoniſhed Europe; but repine at, and grudge the expence of defending your brethren, and your eſſential commercial intereſts in America. It is perhaps difficult for an Engliſhman to account for this conduct upon the common principles which actuate the world; but the Americans imagine they ſee the grounds of it.

The miniſtry of Great Britain, they ſay, being taken up with the more arduous affairs of Germany, and the ſtruggles of parties at home, neglected America; the value of which was unknown until France gave

you

you an idea of it, by endeavouring to take it from you. This roused the British nation, who, immediately seeing its importance, thought *ea neglecta civitas stare non possit.* The war, thus undertaken for the defence of your essential interests, was prosecuted with vigor, and its consequential success gave you a right to demand much more than the original objects of it. The Americans, who had exerted themselves to the utmost, as in a public cause they were bound to, flattered themselves that the peace would have enabled them to recover their strength, by establishing and extending their trade, which had been almost ruined during the course of the war; but unhappily for them, scarce had hostilities ceased against France and Spain, the declared enemies of Great Britain, but the cry was—INTUS EST HOSTIS.

We at once became seized with fear and jealousy of our fellow subjects in America; for, viewing a map made on a large scale, we found them seated on an extensive continent, which, we heard, nature had done much for, and which we dreaded, least time should establish into an empire of dangerous consequence: we said we had ruined ourselves for the sake of America, which would one day or other be the scourge of Europe; and that the blood we had shed would nourish a viper, which would sting us to death. Thus, jealous of our fellow subjects, we repented

of what we had done; and, fearful of the ſtrength which ſecurity from future encroachments would naturally increaſe, it was determined, ſay the Americans, to keep the colonies in that kind of dependance which is occaſioned by weakneſs and poverty, and not in that ſubordination and obedience which ariſes from gratitude and the voluntary duties of children to parents.

It is this ſyſtem of policy, founded on our jealouſy and diſtruſt, that is the ground of the preſent diſcontent in America; for nothing can be more natural, than that jealouſy and diſtruſt on one ſide, ſhould produce on the other the ſame bad and illiberal qualities, to the interruption of the moſt cordial friendſhip, and breach of the ſtrongeſt duties.

It is to this policy they impute the ruin of the Spaniſh trade, by the royal navy of Great Britain acting in the ſpirit of the Guarda Coſtas of Spain. It is true indeed the impropriety of this conduct was ſeen when we found it muſt ultimately affect ourſelves; and, therefore, though the act is ſtill in force, the execution of it is ſuſpended; but the condition of the Americans is bad indeed, for the blow aimed at them, took place! and the dagger remaining rankles in the wound.

The rumour of quartering ſoldiers on private houſes, on the ſtale plea of neceſſity, which

which may be urged, and generally is ſo, to juſtify the worſt actions; the erecting of civil law courts; the eſtabliſhing of an army, when all danger of an enemy is removed; the reaſons which are generally urged for laying taxes on the colonies, namely, that the war was undertaken on their account; that Great Britain is exhauſted, and that America is enriched by it, and therefore ought to pay its proportionate ſhare, have alarmed them greatly, and given them fears which make them jealous of every ſtep you take. They inſiſt, if ever Great Britain had a war peculiarly her own, the laſt was; her eſſential and not fanciful intereſts being deeply concerned in it; and that it was as little undertaken for America, as that you ſent forces to Portugal for the ſake of that kingdom: they deny that Great Britain was exhauſted by it, notwithſtanding her pretended, or even real want of money: the pretended want was raiſed by the clamour of party and ſtock-jobbers, and the real one was owing, not to a decay, but increaſe of trade, which your unparalleled ſucceſs occaſioned, demanded greater capitals than uſual. They declare they exerted themſelves to the utmoſt they were able; that their public and private debts, and the deſtruction of their inhabitants, ſhew it; and that as they are obliged to conſume the manufactures of Great Britain, they actually, though not named by

the parliament, pay every tax which is laid on Great Britain.

I mention theſe grounds of their preſent uneaſineſs without any endeavour to ſhew their reaſonableneſs; but I muſt beg leave to inſiſt, though it ſhould be allowed, the war was undertaken merely for the ſake of the Americans, and that they had not contributed one farthing to its expence, yet that laying taxes on them is contrary to ſound policy, and the object Great Britain had in view in eſtabliſhing colonies.

The firſt conqueſts and acquiſitions made by the Romans, were made, like thoſe of the Tartars, in a ſpirit of union, who adopting or blending themſelves with thoſe whom they had lately ſubdued, fixt their foundation on the firm baſis of one inſeparable intereſt.

But as ſoon as the Romans found their empire ſufficiently ſtrengthened to enable them to act offenſively, to the diſturbance of the whole world, they poured their armies into all quarters, and conquered it, for the purpoſes of avarice and ambition. The objects they had in their view were, the glory of the Roman name, and the plunder of the reſt of mankind, for the ſole benefit of the Roman people.

The colonies eſtabliſhed by the modern European nations, in uncultivated and uncivilized countries, have had two apparent views;

views; the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion, and increaſe of dominion. Theſe objects are generally ſet forth in all their commiſſions and charters, and the firſt of them was impiouſly aſſerted by the Spaniards, to ſanctify the moſt dreadful inhumanity; the reſt of the European nations have had more religion, than to make uſe of the ſword, to inculcate the doctrine of the true God. England in particular hath acted in this reſpect with real wiſdom and piety.

The extention of dominion, the other object which the European nations had in view in eſtabliſhing colonies, ſeems, conſidering the times when they were undertaken, to imply the extention of arbitrary power; for the kings of Europe then poſſeſſed, or claimed, the moſt abſolute authority; all acquiſitions therefore, however made, belonged peculiarly to them; colonies in particular, being undertaken by commiſſions from them, ſeem to have been originally eſtabliſhed for their uſe and benefit; and ſo perhaps, conſidering the ſpirit of our laws at that time, they really would have been, even in this country, if the nature of our government had not changed, or our ſovereigns had not diveſted themſelves of thoſe powers, which the common laws of the land gave them over new acquiſitions.

But as Engliſhmen could not be allured to leave their native homes, to labour in uncultivated countries, without a full ſecurity for the enjoyment of thoſe liberties, which they had a right to from birth, the fulleſt aſſurances and moſt ample conceſſions were made to the adventurers, for their encouragement in ſo arduous an undertaking.

By theſe charters and grants the ſettlers of the New World were as free, when they croſſed the Atlantic, as they had been in this iſland; but as new-diſcovered countries and acquiſitions were the immediate property of the crown, and conſequently ſubject to its immediate government, the liberties which the inhabitants of them enjoyed, it is pretended, muſt be conſidered as mere conceſſions from the crown, and not as they are in this country, independant thereof, and coeval with prerogative itſelf; but ſhould this be the caſe, the liberties of the colonies cannot be infringed, for the crown has parted with all means of oppreſſion, by granting them every right for the ſupport of civil liberty, which this country enjoys; and as theſe grants and ſuppoſed conceſſions have been made voluntarily, for the encouragement of a brave and laborious people, they muſt have at leaſt as much force and validity, as thoſe which have been extorted and demanded in the field of battle.

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The extenſion of dominion therefore, which is one of the expreſſed objects of our eſtabliſhing colonies, cannot mean an uncontrouled power over ſlaves, but a dominion founded on freedom; and not founded for the purpoſes of ambition and vain glory of a monarch, or a partial regard to this or that country, but for the eſtabliſhment and extention of the commerce of the Britiſh dominions.

Here then is an eſſential difference, between the colonies eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh, and the countries which were conquered by the Romans; the firſt were compoſed of freemen, leaving their native homes to extend its commerce for the public good; the latter went over nations for the ſake of plunder and vain glory: the returns which one country claimed from thoſe, which were ſubject to it, were tribute and ſervility; but that which the other hath generally expected, are a liberal obedience, filial affection, and thoſe advantages which the balance of trade gives, for the beneſit of *both* countries; I ſay for the benefit of *both* countries, becauſe Great Britain being enriched and ſtrengthened by it, is better enabled to give that protection which the colonies have a right to expect from her.

The Romans acted conſiſtently when they treated the conquered provinces with rapacity

city ahd inſolence for not being compoſed of Romans, but of aliens and enemies to the Roman name; they were ſubject to the will of the conquerors; Rome was itſelf alone; and therefore, diſregarding the common rights of mankind, ſhe endeavoured to ſubdue and plunder the reſt of the world for her ſole aggrandizement.

But the conduct of Great Britain ought to proceed on different principles; for as its colonies are compoſed of Engliſhmen and freemen, they ought to be treated as ſuch—the intereſts of the mother countries, and its colonies, are inſeperable—no partiality for the benefit of one to the prejudice of the other ought to be admitted; and their mutual advantage can *only* be obtained by the ſources of trade, enriching the ſeveral channels through which it flows.

It is then by trade *alone* that Great Britain, acting in a ſpirit of *true policy*, will endeavour to draw the wealth and produce of America to herſelf; all other methods will deſtroy the object for which the colonies were eſtabliſhed. If the Americans indeed, poſſeſſed of valuable mines of gold and ſilver, or a lucrative commerce, ſtill retained more than the ballance of trade drew from them, Great Britain might, perhaps, conſiſtently with ſelf-intereſt, take the overplus. But the fact is otherwiſe, all their gains and produce now centers here in the

way

way of trade, and therefore the ſyſtem of taxing them is diametrically oppoſite to the real benefit of the nation in general, though it may ſerve the purpoſe of a temporary expedient.—The Treaſury may ſwell a little, but commerce will ſhrink to nothing.

But it is better for the nation, that the riches of the Americans (if they have any) ſhould paſs through the accompting-houſes of the merchants of London, than be paid in at his Majeſty's Exchequer at Whitehall. A miniſter will propagate a different doctrine; he may, perhaps, wiſh to make the colonies a convenient property, to ſupply his want of popularity or knowledge in the reſources of the kingdom; and reaſons may be given by him for this kind of policy, ſufficient to impoſe on the generality of the nation; but it is probable the Americans will never be ſatisfied with the exertion of this kind of power, and ſubmitting to it with reluctance, will reject it whenever they are able. And, indeed, however ready we may be to eaſe ourſelves by taxing them, and reaping apparent emolument at their expence, we ſhall ſoon repent of our partiality; for however weak and wicked a future miniſter may be if this ſyſtem is adopted and purſued, the ſpirit of liberty will exert itſelf in vain againſt him; for pretending hereby to ſecure the dependency of America, he will himſelf become independent of the

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Commons of Great Britain, by the eaſe and facility with which he will raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies.

Cromwell, though an arbitrary ruler, and Charles the IId, a neceſſitous Prince, purſued, in this reſpect, the true intereſts of Great Britain; for notwithſtanding the extravagance of the one, and deſpotiſm of the other, they plainly ſaw, that real power, and ſubſtantial and permanent wealth, could only be attained through the channels of commerce, and that there would be a ſufficient fund eſtabliſhed for diſſipation and corruption, and the higheſt power exerciſed, by rendering the trade of the colonies ſubſervient to Great Britain; and therefore Cromwell had the ſagacity to plan, and Charles the good ſenſe to adopt the famous *act of navigation*, which the Britiſh colonies have to this time dutifully and implicitly obeyed: for though it has reduced them to a kind of political ſlavery, yet being founded on the ſoundeſt policy, they have ſubmitted to it with chearfulneſs and affection to this country; and ſo long as they do ſo, you need no other evidence of your ſovereignty over them; for let any one conſider the nature of it, and he will find it the ſtrongeſt mark and badge of ſubſerviency and dependence.

Let then the mutual, which is the real intereſt of Great Britain and her colonies, be promoted, by conſtantly purſuing

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the true object for which the latter were eſtabliſhed, and let us not cut down the tree to get at the fruit. *Let us ſtroke and not ſtab the cow, for her milk, and not her blood, can give us real nouriſhment and ſtrength*; and for this purpoſe, let the *ſpirit* of the *act of navigation* (for ſound policy has long ſince varied from *the letter*) be ſtrictly adhered to; and then, however flouriſhing the commerce of America may become, either by its own efforts, or by the judicious encouragements and bounties given by this country, the whole advantage thereof muſt ultimately center here, and that without diſcontent and diſturbances, to the honour and ſatisfaction of his Majeſty, and promotion of the public good.

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AN

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ON THE

OCCURRENCES in AMERICA.

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A

LETTER, &c.

DEAR SIR,

I WAS down at my friend ——'s villa ſpending the Chriſtmas holidays, when I was favoured with your letter, requiring me to ſend you an account of the moſt prevailing opinions concerning the *occurrences in America*, as they have been happily called;—and it fell out, fortunately enough for my purpoſe, that there were four or five gentlemen in our company, who, having brought down all the late American prints, ſcarcely talked of any thing elſe; — whereupon, as I found they were all men of acute underſtandings, tho' of different opinions on the ſubject, I contrived without much difficulty to caſt them

into a converſation, or argumentative diſcuſſion of the ſeveral points in diſpute; which having ſet down, as well as my memory would allow me, I here give you, as the beſt anſwer I can make to your letter.

The principal ſpeakers were Mr. Leicester, Mr. Cornish, Mr. Fergus, Mr. Conner, and Mr. Penn; and I ſet them on the argument, by obſerving to them, as they ſeemed all to have well conſidered the matter that gave riſe to theſe occurrences, and each to be the maſter thereof in his own way, that it would be highly entertaining, and perhaps alſo uſeful to ſome of us, if they would communicate and compare their thoughts on the ſubject at large;—when Mr. Leiceſter began thus; I can paſs an hour or two, in ſuch a converſation, with a great deal of pleaſure, though I muſt obſerve, that for the moſt part, there's no end anſwered, in diſcourſing vaguely, as people ordinarily do, on points of this nature, without having any fixed principles; wherein being agreed, they may come to ſome reaſonable concluſions;

ſions ;—for inſtance, and to the purpoſe now under our conſideration,—what is the ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution, in the buſineſs of taxing ?—is it not, that no free born ſubject ſhall be taxed, otherwiſe than by his own conſent perſonally, or by his repreſentative, or by a majority of his fellow citizens, or their repreſentatives ?

PENN.

Certainly, we may all admit this as a fundamental principle of the conſtitution.

ALL.

Agreed !

CORNISH.

Neither do we ever vary from this principle ; at leaſt, not ſince the reign of the unfortunate Prince who paid for the contrary experiment with his head ;—but I underſtand that the members of the B—ſh P—t are the repreſentatives of all the B—ſh people, wherever reſiding.

FERGUS.

Aye, ſurely.

PENN.

Pardon me, gentlemen, if I differ from you, and endeavour to define this a little

more nicely.—The members of the B—ſh P—t can only be the repreſentatives of thoſe who have the power of chuſing them, and that power is confined to thoſe only who have property and reſidence within the iſland. Wherefore, according to this definition, (which is no other than a deſcription of what we all know to be the plain matter of fact,) none but the *proprietors* of this iſland alone have repreſentatives in the B— P—.

CONNOR.

I am intirely of Mr. Penn's opinion, and by conſidering his definition together with the fundamental laid down by Mr. Leiceſter, it ſeems clear to me, that, though in a general ſenſe, we are all fellow ſubjects, whether our properties lie in Britain, Ireland, or America, yet are we not fellow citizens with reſpect to parliamentary rights, no more than a citizen of London, is of courſe a citizen of York, that is, his being a freeman of one of thoſe cities does not qualify him to ſerve an office in the other; he, whoſe landed property lies in Britain, is a citizen of that iſland, and if he has likewiſe landed property in a province of America,

America, he may be a citizen alſo there; but the one does not, *ipſo facto*, intitle him to the other.

CORNISH.

From what you ſay, it ſhould follow, that it is *property* and not *people* that are *repreſented*.

CONNOR.

That ſeems manifeſtly to be the caſe.

FERGUS.

What think ye, then, of the houſe of P—rs, ſome ſerve in their own perſons, others are repreſented, and yet we cannot ſay, that the qualification of an elector ariſes from his property!

LEICESTER.

Let us not embarraſs our preſent diſcuſſion with that part of the conſtitution; we'll firſt conſider what relates to commoners only, and treat that part of the ſubject at another time.

CORNISH.

Well then, I ſay, there is property, to a very great amount, in this iſland, that has no repreſentative in P—t, no more than has the property of Ireland, or America.

LEI-

LEICESTER.

If you mean *copy or leaſehold lands*, tho' ſuch diſtinctions are uſeleſs, and may be conſidered as a blemiſh in our ſyſtem at this time of day; yet you know it may be anſwered, that ſuch lands are already repreſented by the lords of the manors who poſſeſs the freehold of them;—or if you mean ſuch property as may be in the hands of women, infants, ideots, or paupers below the legal ſtandard of qualification.—

CORNISH.

No, I mean none of thoſe, but will explain myſelf, and ſave you the trouble of gueſſing.—I ſay, then, that the rents which particulars draw from the *public funds* alone, are ſufficient, as to their amount, to qualify thirty candidates for every ſeat in P—t; but as the revenue from the funds is not that ſort of property that can legally qualify either the elector or the candidate, it will be found on calculation, that there are about 450,000 people maintained thereby, who, though they may be reſident within the iſland, where this property is ſuppoſed to exiſt, yet have, in conſequence thereof,

no

no repreſentative either in Great-Britain, or any where elſe.

LEICESTER.

What you ſay, is certainly true, ſo far as regards their property in the funds, which I conſider as a very great irregularity and an inconvenience in our ſyſtem; and I look upon theſe 450,000 ſtock penſioners, as ſo many idle by-ſtanders; to maintain whom, the land labourers and manufacturers muſt work ſo much the harder, or muſt put themſelves upon ſhorter diet, in order to ſpare ſomewhat for theſe idle men of imaginary property;---whence ariſes this outcry of dearneſs of proviſions, and high price of labour: But as the funds are a very new and ſingular kind of property, very different indeed from our colonies, theſe being the off-ſpring of frugality and induſtry, and thoſe of war and diſſipation, I ſuppoſe, we have not had time to underſtand the whole of their nature and effect in our conſtitution, ſo as to make them thoroughly ſuitable therewith.

PENN.

PENN.

Yet, thus far, the adminiſtration have conſidered juſtly in regard to the proprietors of the funds, namely, that ſince that part of Britiſh property has no repreſentative in P—t, they exempt it from paying any taxes whatever.

CORNISH.

Well ſaid, Mr. Penn, the adminiſtration are certainly much obliged to you, for finding ſo equitable a reaſon for that policy, which, I'll venture to ſay, they never thought of themſelves.

CONNOR.

There's no doubt, Mr. Corniſh, but your remark here is hiſtorically juſt, the exemption from taxes was calculated as an invitation extraordinary to foreigners, as well as natives; but ſince we muſt allow that Mr. Penn's reaſon is an equitable one, we may as well indulge him in ſuppoſing that it did operate ſomething thereto; for, I am of opinion, that if the political one had not already cauſed the end to be obtained, the equitable one would have forced its way at laſt.

LEICESTER.

I incline much to your opinion, Mr. Connor ;—the Roman hiſtory furniſhes us with an inſtance not very wide of the mark: —It is well known now to all the world, that notwithſtanding the great increaſe of dominion to that republic, their ſelfiſh and contracted views prevented them from beſtowing the freedom of their city, on even their moſt antient and faithful allies ; vainly hoping that poized on the ſame narrow baſis on which their government had ſtood in the infancy of the republic, confined to the inhabitants of a ſmall circle round Rome, they might ſtill continue to lord it over their diſtant and extended provinces. The firſt effect of which ſelfiſh policy, was, a civil war with their Italian allies and *colonies* (called the ſocial war,) to whom in the end, and after a great deal of blood ſpilled, they were obliged to grant with an ill grace, what, a *ſounder policy* would have taught them to offer before it was demanded :--- the ſecond was, that continuing ſtill under the ſame error of affecting to keep all the world under the government of a *ſmall ſe-*

nate chofen from a territory very narrow and difproportioned to the extent of their dominions, *poſts, and offices* of power and profit become more numerous than the *ſenators* themſelves; the wealth of the world centering in ſo few hands, ſoon put an end to all order, and a daring ſervant overturned this narrow-bottomed republic by the event of a ſingle battle.

CORNISH.

What different pictures may be drawn from the ſame original! You ſeem to mark out in this bold ſketch, that the Romans delayed too long to make their allies and *coloniſts* citizens of Rome; and Mr. Monteſquiou, on the other hand, aſſigns their granting that privilege at all, to ſuch vaſt numbers, as one of the chief cauſes of their ruin.

PENN.

I can very well ſee, that Mr. Leiceſter had one eye on his original, the Roman ſtory, and the other on a ſubject much nearer his heart;—neither the Romans nor Mr. Monteſquiou, it is probable, thought of, or conſidered fully, the happy ex-

expedient ſo well known in our conſtition, and which, without doubt, Mr. Leiceſter had in his mind, I mean that of a people exerciſing their power by repreſentatives; for had the Romans known this moſt excellent contrivance, (or, if Mr. Monteſquiou had fully conſidered it, I think he would have found out that) there was, even in Cæſar's time, both virtue and good ſenſe enough remaining to have adopted it, and by that medium to have extended their citizenſhip and form of government to all their dominions.—For, certainly they ruined their government by the abuſe of two extremes, a *ſenate* too ſmall, conſidering the extent of their power and their duration, as they ſat for life;——and an aſſembly of commons (with power of delibering, haranguing and raſhly enacting) whoſe numbers were ſo exceſſive that it was almoſt impoſſible to meet without riot and confuſion.

FERGUS.

I do not ſee that this method would altogether prevent that confuſion; for, if the repreſentatives be increaſed in pro-

portion to the acceſſion of dominion, their numbers may riſe ſo high as to make the maintenance of order utterly impoſſible.

PENN.

Good orders will do a great deal; we know that the great council at Venice conſiſts now of about a thouſand members, it has been heretofore above three times as many, they both deliberate and vote, and they never run into confuſion.

CONNOR.

But, ſuppoſing the danger of confuſion out of the queſtion, how could ſuch a matter be effected, how would it be poſſible to ſettle ſuch a proportion of *repreſentatives* from the *provinces*, as ſhould be thought on all hands to be neither too much, nor too little?

FERGUS.

This would be a difficulty indeed, for, there are many people who do not think that *colonies* or *conquered countries* have any right to expect ſuch a favour at all.

CONNOR.

Such people as thoſe we ſhould refer to hear another chapter of Mr. Leiceſter's Roman hiſtory ; but in fact we have no body of people, properly ſpeaking, under that circumſtance; for, admitting we have *conquered lands* in America, or elſewhere, if the conquered inhabitants conform ſtrictly to the Britiſh teſts of allegiance and religion, their children become free-born ſubjects to all intents and purpoſes, and may, by purchaſing eſtates in the mother-country, become members of the legiſlature; if they do not conform, they are treated as foreigners living under the protection of our laws, but incapable of enjoying poſts, or exerciſing any legiſlative or executive power whatever.— On the other hand, when a native of the mother-country buys an eſtate in a conquered province, would it not be contrary to all reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he has, thereby, forfeited his native rights, and fallen into a degree of ſlavery ?

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CORNISH.

No, no, we muſt not ſuppoſe that.—However, I do not ſee, that laying taxes on the Americans, ſimilar to what we lay on ourſelves, and regulating their trade ſo as it may not interfere with our own, can be conſidered as ſubjecting them to any thing like ſlavery.—For, when they left this country, it was for their own pleaſure, on a proſpect of private advantage; they did not put themſelves under foreign protection, they continued ſtill under ours; they left the legiſlative power, to which they were ſubject, here behind them, and here it has remained ever ſince, and here I hope it will ever remain without diminution.—For here lies the point, the right, the right, Sir; and if we give way now, there's an end of the dignity——

FERGUS.

No! no, Mr. Corniſh, I cannot join you there; for, in my opinion, neither an individual nor a community can derive any dignity, reſpect, or authority, from

from obſtinately adhering to a meaſure after it is diſcovered to be a wrong one; —the wiſeſt may be drawn into error by overſight, or through artful miſrepreſentation; but it is the part of folly or knavery only, to continue wilfully therein, on any pretence whatever, after the diſcovery is made;—therefore I hope we ſhall make uſe of no ſuch arguments here among ourſelves, though I muſt own, with concern, I have heard them in the mouths of men of ſome figure. I am more afraid of loſing, than in hopes of gaining, by puſhing punctilios too far; and am perſuaded that the ſupremacy of the pope would have laſted entire to this day, or that epiſcopacy would never have been baniſhed from Scotland, if the hot-heads of thoſe times had not urged their rights with too high a hand.

LEICESTER.

I entirely agree with you, Mr. Fergus, and therefore let us conſider, of what uſe can it be to demonſtrate a legal right (by the help of a parcel of abſurd *fictions*) if,

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after all we ſhould want power to ſupport that right?—Or, what wiſe man would think of exerting his power, if the exertion was more likely to hurt than to avail him?—I may aſſert, that I have a natural right to cut off one of my own limbs; and I may prove, that, taking a hatchet in my right hand, I have power to chop off the left;—but what benefit ſhall I derive from this manly exertion? ——Our American provinces, as far as they are peopled, became ſo, from the freedom that adventurers found they could enjoy there, and from the advantages which that freedom afforded to commerce;—if that freedom and thoſe advantages were taken away, by reſtraints and taxations laid on, againſt the will of the inhabitants, that is, at the pleaſure of an external power, there can be no doubt, that ſuch an operation would exactly undo all that the contrary method had been doing; and that the ſwarms of people which fled thither, from the calamities of Britain, during the civil wars, and afterwards from Ireland, by reaſon of the reſtraints laid on their

their manufactures and commerce, I ſay, it could not be doubted, but thoſe ſwarms of people (or their deſcendants) would ſearch for ſome new aſſylum, and abandon the lands once more to their original ſavages.

CORNISH.

Do you think, then, if we were to enforce ſo juſt a law, as requiring a moderate aid from theſe people, that their high-ſpiritedneſs would carry them ſo far, as to abandon their eſtates and ſuch immenſe property as ſome of them have got there, and to expoſe themſelves to all the hardſhips and poverty of new adventurers?

LEICESTER.

I am clearly of that opinion, but will not take up our time now, in ſaying any thing farther in ſupport of it, becauſe I do not ſee how ſuch a law could be enforced: —for where people have immenſe property, they muſt of courſe have immenſe power; and, with ſuch a people, according to the principles of our conſtitu-

ton, nothing can be done, but by their own conſent, that is, if we want their aid, or, in other words, if we want them to bear ſome part of our burdens, we muſt allow them alſo a ſhare in our privileges; for, I can hardly think there was ever any body viſionary enough to propoſe, that, in imitation of the Great Turk, we ſhould ſend a baſha, with a fleet and army, to collect the tribute of the empire.

CONNOR.

No, ſurely;—that's an abſurdity ſo glaring, that it needs only to be mentioned, the confutation ariſes inſtantly in the mind of the hearer.——But, as I was ſaying, Mr. Penn, (a little while ago) ſuppoſing the number of repreſentatives to be raiſed to a thouſand, how could that number be allotted and proportioned?

PENN.

Nothing more eaſy.—For why may we not imitate what we ſee ſucceſsfully practiſed every day by private perſons, who aſſociate themſelves to carry on projects of trade or other lucrative adventures, which require the advance and riſk of a conſiderable

derable capital, and the exrciſe of ſkill and judgment in the conduct thereof.—They uſually divide the ſum total of the required capital into a certain number of parts or ſhares, to each of which parts they annex the right of one vote; the ſubſcribers engage, according to their abilities or inclination; and he who buys the greateſt number of ſhares, that is, he who runs the greateſt riſk, and pays the greateſt part of the expence, has alſo the greateſt number of votes in that community.

CORNISH.

My good Sir, do you mean that, by this fine project, we ſhould open a door for five or ſix hundred Americans to come in and vote us out of our own houſe?

LEICESTER.

I ſee no reaſon to apprehend that, unleſs we can ſuppoſe the Americans able and willing to pay five or ſix parts in ten of the public expence, that is, about five or ſix millions per annum;—for in that manner, if I underſtand Mr. Penn rightly, the deſire, in any one part of the

ſtate to over-rule the reſt by an undue majority of votes or repreſentatives, would be curbed by the exceſſive price they muſt pay for them.

PEN.

That is exactly my meaning.

LEICESTER.

And I think nothing can be more equitable.

CONNOR.

But however equitable and pleaſing ſuch a ſcheme may appear at firſt ſight, might not ſome of our provincial politicians reject it on this account, " That their nar-
" row circumſtances would only enable
" them to pay ſuch a ſum as would intitle
" them to have very few repreſentatives or
" votes, which, beſides the ſmallneſs of
" their number, might eaſily be practiſed
" upon, if a miniſter was ſo inclined; and
" whatever ſhould happen afterwards, they
" could make no juſt complaint, as they
" would then have a legal repreſentative."

LEICESTER.

I can eaſily conceive, that a very obvious alteration in the mode of election, and

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the duration of their ſitting limitted to a ſhort period, would make the practices of the miniſter, which you hint at, both impracticable and unprofitable.

CORNISH.

Very likely, Sir.—But I ſhould fancy, that upon trial this obvious alteration of yours would go ſo much againſt the ſtomachs of ſome of our countrymen, that it could never be got down; nay, would diſguſt them to that degree, that I think they would not ſuffer any plan to be brought before them that ſavoured of ſuch a doctrine. For do we not conſider our intereſt in boroughs as a part of our eſtates, and conſequently any ſuch alteration, as you intimate, would be an immediate violation of private property, which we can never conſent to.

LEICESTER.

My dear Corniſh, I know you have too much public virtue to inſiſt on ſo mean an argument, which is no whit better than that offered by a gentleman ſome years ago, in oppoſition to the projectors of a new harbour on a dangerous part of the coaſt,

coaſt, namely, " that their ſcheme would " prejudice his rights as Lord of the Manor, " by depriving him of the benefit of wrecks." Repreſentatives were undoubtedly intended, from their origin, to have been elected by the free votes of a free people; and if by any unforeſeen accidents they have fallen in particular places into a different channel, ſuch alterations are an abuſe of the original inſtitution, and ſhould be rectified as ſoon as they become manifeſt.

PENN.

Though I am of your opinion, Mr. Leiceſter, yet from what I have obſerved of mankind, both in the hiſtories of times paſt and of our own, I have found that bodies politic are as ſqueamiſhly averſe to medicines as the moſt froward children, nothing but the immediate fear of diſſolution, or the force of bribes, can prevail with them to take any thing under the name of phyſic; in ſhort, there is nothing they ſeem to hate ſo much as to be mended. Therefore I ſhould be for leaving every part of the old ſyſtem as it now is, that every kingdom, or province, ſhould

continue its parliament, aſſembly, or whatever other form of internal government it is poſſeſſed of, and defray all its own expences within itſelf; and ſuperadd, for the *union* and utility of the *whole*, a new *ſovereign council*, conſiſting of deputies from each province of this great common-wealth, according to the plan before-mentioned; that is, each province to ſend as many deputies as ſhould correſpond with a proportional ſhare of the general public expence, which on all occaſions they muſt pay. That *this* ſhould be in the place of *that* commonly called the *privy council*, and ſhould be always ſitting to *adviſe the crown* in all the *public concerns* of the *common wealth*, of *peace* and *war*, and the ſums of *money* proper to be raiſed. That the boards of *treaſury*, *admiralty*, and *trade*, ſhould be executed by *committees* of this council, and that the office of *Lord Conſtable* ſhould be revived, but the execution thereof lodged in the hands of a *fourth committee*, which ſhould have the ſame power over the *army*, as the Admiralty has over the *fleet*. That the *acts* of this *great council*, with the *King's aſſent*, ſhall be binding

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over the whole common-wealth; but that they ſhall meddle with nothing that can be conſidered as the peculiar buſineſs of any one province in particular; that after it has decreed what ſums ſhall be raiſed, each province ſhall be left to find ſuch *ways and means* for raiſing their quota as they ſhall think moſt proper for their own condition.

CONNOR.

But if the members of this great council are never to be diſſolved, as I think you propoſe they ſhould always be ſitting; might not a practiſing miniſter ſoon be able to mould them to his humour?

PENN.

Sir, though I ſay they ſhould always be ſitting (that is, there ſhould be no diſſolution, though they might have ſome receſs by adjournments) it would not, however, be in the power of a miniſter to practice much upon, themas I ſhouldcontrive matters; for after the firſt year, the ſeveral provinces ſhould be obliged to recall half their number, and ſend new ones in their places, and every year following to

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do the ſame thing; ſo that every year one half of the council would be new men, and all thoſe who went out ſhould be incapable of being re-elected for the ſpace of two years enſuing.

CONNOR.

Well, but might not ſomething be done with the members of the four great committees? for two years (the time which each member may continue in the council) would be long enough to admit of practices.

PENN.

That ſhould be provided againſt in this manner. Let us ſuppoſe, that each of theſe four committees conſiſted of ſix members, to be choſen by ballot in the Venetian manner, that each committee ſhould, by the ſame method, chuſe a chairman, who ſhould have power of firſt Lord, or firſt Commiſſioner, in the manner of the preſent boards, for the ſpace of one month, at the expiration whereof he ſhould leave the committee, and be incapable of being re-elected therein for twelve months enſuing. His place as a committee

man ſhould be ſupplied by ballot from and by the great council, and the vacancy of firſt Lord, or chairman, filled up in like manner by the committee, and ſo on *toties quoties*.—And by theſe means, I think, very little room would be left for practices.

CONNOR.

Would you give this great council power of impeachment and attainder?

PENN.

Certainly, in all matters that concerned their own body, or the general welfare, or that could not be determined properly by any one province, they ſhould have full parliamentary power.

FERGUS.

I obſerve you draw a good deal from the Venetian model; but is it not notorious, that their government is particularly deficient in the very point which we ſeem to want, namely, the government of diſtant provinces, they having loſt moſt part of their dominions on the *Terra Firma*, and their diſtant iſlands?

PENN.

I have only imitated ſome part of what I think they are moſt perfect in, and have avoided their only error, that is, their ſelfiſh principle, which, by confining the whole of their power and freedom to the nobles only, made it impoſſible for ſo ſmall a number (being at moſt but 4000 families, and now not above 1000) to keep the numerous inhabitants of diſtant provinces (who were ſtill maſters of their own lands) in a ſlaviſh obedience to the laws of a government, in which, having no manner of ſhare, they of courſe were neither intereſted to ſupport, nor willing to obey, any longer than they were compelled *vi & armis*. Which violence, being directly contrary to the genius of trade, will always be found ruinous, if not impracticable, in a commercial ſtate. Their great council never changes but as ſome die and as young men grow up, becauſe in fact it takes in the whole community of freemen, the reſt of the inhabitants being only like ſojourning ſtrangers as to their perſonal rights, and as ſlaves with reſpect

to their property. Whereas the great council here propoſed, being only a repreſentative of millions of freemen, is half changed every year, and totally every two years; and the intervals of two years, during which old members are kept out, gives opportunity for ſo many other able perſons to ſtep into the ſervice of their country, that the idea of being governed by a cabal, or junto, can never ariſe to give jealouſy or uneaſineſs to the moſt diſtant provinces, who, on the contrary, will all feel that they have an equitable ſhare in the adminiſtration.

CORNISH.

But why do you propoſe to revive the office of Lord Conſtable, which, as we are told, was ſuppreſſed for having had too much power annexed to it to be truſted in the hand of any ſubject?

PENN.

That might have been the caſe when it was in the hands of an individual for life and hereditary; but when exerciſed by the joint judgment of ſix choſen men, the chairman

chairman having only a caſting vote when neceſſary to prevent a ſtop in buſineſs by an equality of voices; theſe ſix perſons changing every month, and as ſoon as they quit their committee, immediately accountable for any mal adminiſtration; I ſay, ſuch a power, ſo lodged, runs very little riſk of being abuſed. Beſides, in truth, it is my opinion, that the conſtitution has never been perfect ſince the ſuppreſſion of this office; which, in order that the King ſhould do no wrong, had provided officers in every branch of the executive, who were to act under his name, but were accountable in their own perſons. The power of intereſted miniſters working on the weakneſs of former princes, in purſuit of *reverſionary grants*, converted many temporary offices into hereditary ones. Under ſuch a change of order it would naturally happen ſometimes, that the office would be diſgraced by the hands it fell into; ſuch incongruities, I preſume, made this office odious both to King and people, when unfortunately they ſaw no middle way to redreſs the evil, but ſuppreſſed it altogether. Had

there been a conſtable in the reign of Charles the firſt, that unhappy Prince could not have fallen into thoſe errors which overturned the government and himſelf. But when the Prince can take the ſword of war into his own hand, diſmiſs officers, and garble an army, as James the IId did, I think the maxim, that the *King can do no wrong*, ſeems ſomewhat problematical, and the Prince thereby left occaſionally expoſed, in his own perſon, to the reſentment of his people, for want of an immediate officer, on whom the blame of any miſdoing might juſtly fall.

FERGUS.

Well, this is a very pretty ſcheme, Mr. Penn; but, I doubt, if you were to publiſh it, it would fare no better than many other ingenious projects of ſpeculative men of the laſt age; all which ſleep very quietly on the upper ſhelves of our modern virtuoſi;—for the grand difficulty (and which, I fear, is inſurmountable) is, how to perſuade any man, or ſet of men, to part with any portion of power which they

now

now have, and think themſelves ſtrong enough to keep.

PEN.

Why, really Sir, I ſhould think myſelf a very ſhallow politician indeed, if I had ſuppoſed men could be perſuaded to part with any thing they liked, unleſs it were for a valuable conſideration or when forced thereto by neceſſity. But as I am of opinion, that ſuch poſitions do now and then occur in public affairs as neceſſarily require material alterations, I have maturely conſidered on this ſubject from a perſuaſion, that one time or other we ſhall be under a neceſſity of adopting ſuch a ſyſtem, or one very like it, to ſave us from ſomething worſe. But I repeat, that I am ſure we ſhall never do it, till forced by neceſſity. If you'll allow me to relate to you what I know to have happened in a private family, you may judge from thence what might alſo fall out in a larger ſociety under ſimilar circumſtances.

LEICESTER.

We are all attentive; pray go on.

PENN.

A country gentleman, maſter of a well conditioned manor of a thouſand pounds a year, had half a ſcore children portioned by ſettlement with about a thouſand pounds a piece; he prudently conſidered, though bred up in his youth to arms, that the moſt certain and effectual way of encreaſing his fortune, and raiſing that of his children, was to apply himſelf to farming his own lands and bringing up his ſons to merchandize; by which means they ſoon became not only able to maintain themſelves, by employing their little fortunes in merchant-venturing, but were alſo very uſeful to their father, in taking off all his products, even at his own price; ſuch was their filial affection towards him.---But unhappily the old gentleman increaſed not in virtue, as he did in the proſperity of his circumſtances, on the contrary, like Noah when he took to drinking, he turned out a very debauched old fellow; ſo that under the influence of his bad example and inattention to his affairs, his ſervants plundered him at home,

and

and his ſteward, who went ſnacks with the lawyers, engaged him in broils and diſputes with his neighbours, till he became ſo involved in debt, that he was no longer able to pay his labourers wages, and ſupport his current expences; in which diſtreſs he conceived the raſh project of drawing bills of exchange on his ſons, payable at ſight without farther advice.---The ſons, who had always punctually paid their father for what they bought of his goods, and had never received of him any thing but their own fortunes, were alarmed at this innovation; and imputing it to the ill advice of his ſervants, who had ſo much the aſcendant over him, that they (though his fleſh and blood) were treated as ſtrangers in the family houſe; I ſay, his ſons, alarmed at this innovation, wrote an humble remonſtrance to their father, beſeeching him not to take ſuch an arbitrary courſe with them.—But he, ſpirited up by his wicked ſervants, who kept him conſtantly drunk,—flung their letter back without reading, and would hear nothing from them;—ſwore in a great paſſion that as he was their father, whatever was their's, was his;—that if they refuſed to render quiet-

ly what he demanded, he would ſend and take it by force, and puniſh them corporally for their diſobedience.—At this, the ſons, (who were affectionate and loved their parent, though they grieved for the weakneſs of his dotage,) were obliged to convince the old gentleman that they were no longer of an age to be treated as infants, ſeeing they were all married and had families of their own ;—they proteſted his bills, and refuſed to take any more of his wool or corn ; by which his diſtreſſes were doubled, for he had ſo quarrelled with all his neghbours that none of them cared to buy any thing of him.—However theſe laſt difficulties ſoon brought him to a better underſtanding, and inſtead of going to law with his ſons, as his roguiſh ſteward adviſed, he was become ſober enough to conſider that the only iſſue of ſuch a conteſt muſt be, either to ruin them or be ruined himſelf, either of which would be to loſe the fruit he had been ſo long labouring for, that of eſtabliſhing his family in wealth and proſperity ; wherefore, continuing ſtill ſober, he deſired an interview with them, ingenuouſly acknowledged how he had been miſled and abuſed by a pack of profligate ſervants,

vants, offered to take his ſons into partnerſhip with him, and deſired they would aſſiſt him in reforming his houſe.—Which they, as they never wanted filial affection and a true ſenſe of their duty, readily conſented to; and they now are the family of the greateſt *power and conſideration in their* country.

At the end of this diſcourſe we all ſat ſtaring at one another, nobody, I believe, knowing well what to ſay; when a ſervant came in to tell us, ſupper was on the table, which put an end to this conference.—And here alſo I beg leave to finiſh my letter; from your's &c.

Jan. 12, 166.

P O S T C R I P T.

I had almoſt forgot to tell you, that after ſupper, when ſome remarks were made on the foregoing ſubject, one of the company, who had taken no part in the argument before, obſerved, that Mr. Penn was not ſo very ſingular, nor new in his propoſitions as ſome of the gentlemen ſeemed to think, for, ſays he, toſſing a ragged paper on the table, " I have had that plan " in my pocket for ſeveral months paſt,

" and the perſon from whom I received it,
" ſaid it was handing about, and, as he
" ſuppoſed, was under ſome ſort of pub-
" lic conſideration." With the gentle-man's leave I borrowed it till the next day, and the following is a copy of it.

Scheme of repreſentatives to a general parliament, proportioned to the probable numbers of people in each province, and to the certain ſums to be contributed by each province to the general fund for public ſervice, that is, for the ſupport of *common government* in peace and war, (the particular ſupport of each provincial government being to be left to its own internal management) being after the rate of 10,000*l.* per annum, to be contributed by each province for every member ſent by them; (when 52*l.* per annum was the parliamentary allowance for a ſeaman, viz. at 4*l.* per month.) The amount of the people ſuppoſed in each province, is put ſomewhat arbitrarily, in ſuch even numbers as will divide by 20,000; that being the number of people which, by this ſcheme, is ſuppoſed able to contribute a ſum ſufficient to intitle them to ſend one repreſentative. But

moreover, as by this plan, property, rather than barely the numbers of people, gives the title of ſending repreſentatives, —each province having right to ſend one member for every 10,000 l. they contribute annually to the general fund; ſo the provinces where, by their ſituation, great part of their work is done by ſlaves, or where great numbers of the people are diſqualified, by being Papiſts, may nevertheleſs find among them a ſufficient number of qualified men to repreſent them, in proportion to their wealth and contributions.——All preſent taxes, duties, &c. to be repealed.

The probable number of perſons in the whole dominion, at this time, is 16,760,000, which being divided by 20,000, will make 838 parts, or ſhares, in the whole; and ſuppoſing the ſeveral provinces able and willing to ſend, for each ſuch ſhare, one member, and in conſideration thereof to contribute 10,000 l. to the general fund (more or leſs, according to the annual neceſſity) the whole would make a revenue of 8,380,000 l. which in detail may be ſtated in the following manner;

Names of Provinces.	Supposed No. of People	No. of Shares, which is also the No. of Representatives.	Sums of Money contributed to the general Fund or public Revenue.
Canada, and it its Dependencies	100,000	5	£50,000
Nova-Scotia, C. Breton and Newfoundland	20,000	1	10,000
Massachusett's	280,000	14	140,000
New Hampshire	40,000	2	20,000
Connecticutt	200,000	10	100,000
Rhode-Island	80,000	4	40,000
New York	160,000	8	80,000
Jerseys	120,000	6	60,000
Pensylvania	280,000	14	140,000
Maryland	160,000	8	80,000
Virginia	280,000	14	140,000
N. Carolina	40,000	2	20,000
S. Carolina	80,000	4	40,000
Georgia, E. & W. Flor. Bermudas & Bahamas	20,000	1	10,000
All North America	1,860,000	93	930,000
Barbadoes	100,000	5	50,000
Jamaica	180,000	9	90,000
Antigua	60,000	3	30,000
Nevis, St. Kitt's, Montserratt, Grenada, St. Vincent's, &c.	60,000	3	30,000
All the W. Ind. Islan.	400,000	20	200,000
England and Wales	10,000,000	500	5,000,000
Scotland	1,500,000	75	750,000
Ireland	3,000,000	150	1,500,000
G. Britain and Ireland	14,500,000	725	7,250,000
Grand Total of the British Dominion	16,760,000	838	8,380,000

N. B. It is supposed, that the increase of people and wealth in the new provinces would soon raise the number of shares to a thousand, and the proportional revenue of course to ten millions. Thus, on this plan, the increase of dominion, by extending our colonies, would neither be dangerous to our liberties, nor an addition to our expences; but on the contrary, like the new buildings in the parishes of Marybone and St. George, would lighten the taxes of the old ones.

FINIS.

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Copy 1

THE

Rights of Parliament

VINDICATED,

On Occaſion of the late

STAMP-ACT.

In which is expoſed

THE CONDUCT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONISTS.

Addreſſed to all the People of

GREAT BRITAIN.

" Omnem Divini, humanique moris Memoriam abolemus,
" Cum nova peregrinaque patriis & priſcis præferimus.

" Uſus & conſuetudo Parlamenti eſt lex Parlamenti,
" Lex Parlamenti eſt lex Angliæ,
" Lex Angliæ eſt lex terræ,
" Lex terræ eſt ſecundum Magnam Chartam.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ALMON, oppoſite Burlington-Houſe, in Piccadilly. 1766.

[Price One Shilling.]

THE

Rights of Parliament, &c.

AFTER all the pamphlets publiſhed on occaſion of the diſpute between the colonies, and this their mother-country; all the arguments uſed pro and con; the pains taken by many ſenſible and learned men to unravel a queſtion, which, at firſt view, appeared complicated, and which at preſent ſeems perfectly well underſtood; it may be deemed impertinent to attempt any thing more on the ſubject. But the lower claſs of people are not capable of deep reaſoning; yet they have a right to be informed in all great conſtitutional points, and that in ſuch a manner as ſhall be adapted to their underſtandings. I ſhall therefore enter upon the ſubject without further apology; and, as I write chiefly for their ſakes, ſhall (attempt at leaſt to) treat

this important point in ſuch a plain way, as ſhall render it perfectly intelligible to the meaneſt reader.

The Americans pretend to be aggrieved by the late Stamp-act, under pretence that it is *contrary to their charters*, and an *infringement of the rights and privileges of Britiſh ſubjects, who can only be taxed by their own conſent, or that of their legal repreſentatives:* they indeed, for the preſent, acquieſce in the ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature, and therefore ſubmit to the laws of trade and navigation (which they call external taxes) but they deny the power of the Britiſh parliament to impoſe internal taxes upon them, becauſe they are not repreſented in a Britiſh Houſe of Commons.

Now I will tell you, what is generally underſtood by external and internal taxes, or, as a great * author ſaith, by foreign and inteſtine taxes: and my meaning in telling it you, is only that you may have a little idea of what the Americans mean by the diſtinction; for, if you will read theſe few ſheets with attention, you will find that the ſame authority which hath the right of impoſing the one tax, hath alſo the right of impoſing the other. By *external* or *foreign* tax, is meant ſuch as is

* Petit jus parliamentarium.

raiſed

raiſed on trade or merchandize exported or imported, or, in other terms, the laws of trade and navigation; and this the Americans ſometimes condeſcend to allow.

By internal or inteſtine, ſuch as is raiſed in the commerce and dealing that is at home within ourſelves; and this they deny.

From this diſtinction of the Americans, (your coloniſts) there reſult a few points, which, that you may the more clearly comprehend, I will ſpeak to ſeparately, under the following heads.

1ſt, They allow of external taxes, as ſubjects of the realm, but deny internal ones, becauſe they are not taxed by their own conſent, as not being repreſented in a Britiſh Houſe of Commons: and hence hath ariſen a vague diſtinction (calculated merely to deceive you) between the repreſentative and legiſlative capacity of the Houſe of Commons, as if they could only impoſe taxes by their repreſentative capacity, but could make laws and ſtatutes by their legiſlative power. Now, in order to enable you to judge clearly of this matter, you muſt be informed,

Firſt, Whether, by the laws of your conſtitution, there is any real diſtinction made between the right of impoſing external and internal taxes.

Secondly, Whether there is any diſtinction between the repreſentative and legi-

ſlative capacity of the Houſe of Commons.

Thirdly, Whether the American coloniſts are not as fully repreſented in a Britiſh Houſe of Commons, as any of you who are not electors, that is, who have not a right of voting at the election of a member of parliament.

Theſe three great points being once diſcuſſed, I will then endeavour to ſhew you the falſehood of the Americans aſſertion, viz. that the impoſing internal taxes is an infringement of their charters.

Firſt, Whether, by the laws of your conſtitution, there is any diſtinction made between the right of impoſing internal and external taxes:

By Magna Charta it appeareth, that the King cannot lay taxes upon his ſubjects without the conſent of parliament, which conſiſted of the * archbiſhops and biſhops, the abbots, the earls, the greater barons, and the tenants in capite: and therefore the King and high court of parliament conſtituted the ſupreme legiſlature, which was, and is, and muſt, from the nature of it, be endued with all powers incident to ſupremacy, in every country and in every government.

What thoſe powers are you ſhall hear:

* Archiepiſcopos, epiſcopos, abbates, comites, majores barones, etomnes illos qui de nobis tenent in capite.

" What-

" Whatſoever is regularly determined
" and approved of:
1ſt, " By the counſel and conſent of
" the great men, magnatum.
2dly, " By the general agreement of
" the commonalty.
3dly, " With the regal authority firſt
" obtained.

" That hath the force of law."—[Bracton.

Again: The ſtatute of Magna Charta, Charta de Foreſta, and the other ſtatutes, were made by the king and his predeceſſors, the peers, and the commons of the realm. Statute of 15 Edw. III.

Again: " Whatever concerns the eſtate
" of the realm and people ſhall be treated
" of in parliaments by the king, with the
" conſent of the prelates, earls, barons,
" and commonalty * of the realm, as
" hath been cuſtomary heretofore." Statute 17 Edw. II.

I could quote you many more authorities, but theſe will be ſufficient to ſhew you what plenary and abſolute authority, pre-eminence and juriſdiction were inſeparably united, annexed, and belonging to parliament. And therefore I will now

* The commons were ſummoned not for their conſent to taxations, but for divers and arduous buſineſſes, " pro diverſis & arduis negotiis."

ſet

ſet down a ſummary of the many great objects of parliament.

They enact laws.

They repeal former ones.

They regulate times preſent and to come

Transfer the rights and poſſeſſions of private perſons.

Legitimate baſtards.

Make laws concerning the worſhip of God.

Change weights and meaſures.

Settle the right of ſucceſſion.

Determine controverſies where the law is uncertain, or hath made no proviſion.

Value mens eſtates.

Impoſe pole money and cuſtoms.

Pardon offences.

Reſtore families ruined by the delinquencies of their anceſtors, &c. — [Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary to Queen Elizabeth.

You ſee plainly then, that there is no diſtinction between internal and external taxes, and that the power of impoſing any taxes at all is but one of thoſe acts of ſovereignty inherent in the legiſlative authority; and therefore a great * man who ſtudied our conſtitution, and who drew all his concluſions from thence, very juſtly ſaith, " the power of impoſing taxes, and

* Petit jus parliamentarium

" of

" of making laws, are *convertitia & coin-*
" *cidentia*; that is, whoſoever can do the
" the one can do the other." And this will appear evident to you, when you conſider the nature of all taxes, and the end for which they are impoſed, viz. to enable government to provide for the ſecurity and ſafety of all the Britiſh dominions, that you may enjoy your property in peace and quietneſs. Now if the parliament, with the aſſent of the King, had only power to impoſe external taxes, that is, upon your imports and exports, and that you was to have a French or Spaniſh war, your trade muſt ſuffer in proportion to the means you would want to defend it; and if no internal taxes were to be laid by parliament, there would be no money to fit out any fleet to protect your trade, which being loſt, the tax upon it could bring in nothing at all; and thus you would be wholly at the mercy of the enemy, not only for your trade, but for your lands and property; ſo that the parliament would have only the power of cramping you in your trade in time of peace, and not of providing for your ſafety in time of war. And this ſhews the folly of the diſtinction made by the Americans on this head, only calculated to leſſen the authority of the Britiſh parliament for their own ſelfiſh views, and to

undermine

undermine our conſtitution, by denying the ſupremacy of the legiſlature; and to colour their proceedings, they make a diſtinction between the repreſentative and legiſlative capacity of the Houſe of Commons, as if the Houſe of Commons had a right of impoſing * external taxes by virtue of their legiſlative power, but not internal ones, becauſe they do not repreſent the colonies: by which ſuch members of parliament, as have property both in England and America, might tax their conſtituents in this country, while they kept their eſtates in America free from all taxations.

This is a new doctrine, void of all foundation, for the Houſe of Commons hold their legiſlative power by virtue of being the repreſentatives of the people, and by that tenure only; and one of the great prerogatives of the legiſlature is, the power of impoſing taxes, internal as well as external; ſo that when one of your American coloniſts deny the right of parliament to lay any internal taxation on them, they muſt, by a parity of reaſon, deny all the legiſlative power of the Houſe of Commons over them; for by our happy conſtitution the rights and privileges of a Bri-

* There is no real diſtinction in the conſtitution between the power of impoſing internal and external taxations.

tiſh

iſh ſubject are not confined within the
are limits of being taxed only by their
wn conſent : no : they can refuſe obe-
ience to every law or ſtatute whatſoever,
ot made with their own conſent, that is
o ſay, which their repreſentatives ſhall
ot have aſſented to ; and the Houſe of
Commons hold their right of aſſenting
nly, as hath been ſaid, by virtue of their
epreſentation ; from whence it neceſſarily
ollows, that whatever ſubject can legally
eſiſt a taxation, under pretence of not be-
ng repreſented in a Britiſh parliament,
an as legally, under the ſame plea, refuſe
bedience to any other act of parliament,
nd to every other act of legiſlative power,
xerciſed under the different heads already
numerated, and many more which might
e given ; ſo that if this argument of the
oloniſts proves any thing, it proves too
much, and by a fair inference, tends to
eleaſe them from all dependence on the
egiſlature of Great Britain, at the ſame
ime that they are ſworn liege ſubjects to
he King, and claim every valuable privi-
ege of a free-born ſubject ; and this muſt
ppear to you all very abſurd, becauſe, in
uch a caſe, all who have a mind to be
nutinous and refractory, and riſe up
gainſt the power of ſovereign authority
veſted in the King and high court of par-
iament, would have the ſame right with

you, that are loyal, dutiful, free-born ſubjects; and what thoſe rights are I will ſet down for your ſatisfaction, as I find them recited in one of the American charters.

" To inherit, or purchaſe, lands, te-
" nements, revenues, ſervices, and other
" heriditaments, in any part of the King's
" dominions; to occupy, enjoy, give, ſell,
" alien, and bequeath the ſame, freely
" and quietly to poſſeſs all liberties and
" franchiſes of this kingdom." So that they can qualify themſelves for freeholders, and even become members of parliament; and theſe valuable rights they actually enjoy at the time that they are refuſing to ſubmit to a juſt and legal act of the ſupreme legiſlature, by a ſilly difference of repreſentative and legiſlative capacity,* a mere jingle of words, and a diſtinction without a difference.

You have already been told, that the legiſlative authority, in every country, muſt have all the powers incident to ſupremacy.

That in this country the commons hold all their ſhare of power in the legiſlature by virtue of being the repreſentatives of the people, and by that tenure only.

* There is no diſtinction between the repreſentative and legiſlative capacity of the Houſe of Commons.

That

That whoever hath the right of impoſing external taxes, muſt alſo have the right of impoſing internal ones, from the nature of ſovereign power.

That whoever hath the power of making laws, hath the power of impoſing taxes.

From all which, you will naturally conclude, that the coloniſts are really repreſented in a Britiſh parliament, without which they could not even be ſubject to our laws of trade and navigation, or to any other act of parliament. I ſhall therefore diſcuſs this point, and leave you all to judge, whether the American coloniſts are not as fully repreſented in parliament as any of you who are non electors, that is, who have not a right of voting at the election of a member of parliament.

The propoſition maintained by them is, "that no Britiſh ſubject can be taxed but "by his own conſent in perſon, or by his "deputy." Now this is not the conſtitution, nor doth Magna Charta expreſs any ſuch thing; for by that rule no Engliſh ſubject would be liable to any taxation who had not a right of voting at the election of a member of Parliament; and by a very moderate computation, there would not be a fifteenth part of the people of England, or above five thouſand of the inhabitants of Scotland, repreſented at all. Whereas all

that Magna Charta ſays, is, that the King ſhall lay no tax on the ſubject without conſent of parliament, which is defined to be an aſſembly of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, Greater Barons, and Tenants in Capite, who, with the King's aſſent, had a right of impoſing taxes on all the ſubjects of this realm.

Such of the inhabitants of England, as did not ſtand in one of the abovementioned ranks, were preciſely in the ſame predicament that non* electors, non free-holders are now; and yet, ſaith Sir Thomas Smith,

" Whatever the people of Rome could
" do in their Comitia Centuriata, or Tri-
" bunitia, all thoſe things are properly
" tranſacted in Engliſh parliaments, as
" being aſſemblies in which both Prince
" and people are repreſented; for we are
" all ſuppoſed to be preſent in that aſſem-
" bly, of whatever quality, ſtation or dig-
" nity, whether noble or ignoble, by our-
" ſelves, or repreſentatives.

How far this may be applicable to the coloniſts, can only be known by going back

* Among the non electors are the freeholders of the city of London, who, as ſuch, have no vote at an election either in the city of London, or county of Middleſex, and yet by a moderate calculation pay above one ſeventeenth part of the land tax of the whole united kingdom. To theſe may be added the merchants of London, and thoſe whoſe property is in the funds.

to their forefathers, the original planters, and examining their condition and rights at the time of their ſeparating from their parent ſtate; for it is a maxim well known, " that no heir can inherit greater rights and " poſſeſſions than the perſon of whom he " inherits was intitled to :" And altho' the rule of preſcription hath place in many inſtances between ſubject and ſubject, and ſometimes between nation and nation, yet can it never be pleaded between ſubject and ſupreme legiſlature.

The firſt American planters were originally ſubjects reſiding in England, little more than a century ago, who, upon a proſpect of great advantages to themſelves and their poſterity, moſt humbly petitioned that they might be permitted to quit their native country and ſettle in America: The crown attended to their petitions, and graciouſly granted their requeſt, for which two ſpecial reaſons were aſſigned; firſt, the extending the chriſtian religion and converting unbelievers to the true faith; ſecondly, the extending of the Britiſh dominions; and, accordingly, in the royal charters which King James the firſt granted them, and whereby they became a corporation, theſe two reaſons are expreſt.

Now at the time that theſe planters obtained this charter, there was a parliament holden.

Some

Some of them were freeholders, and had voted at the election of members for this parliament; others were non electors, who were, as they are now, represented by the freeholders; for all belonged to some county, city or borough. It is plain then, when they emigrated or left this country to seek their fortunes in a strange land, they were all of them represented in the parliament then existing, as fully as all of you now are in the present parliament.

In the next parliament, which was held after they went away, such of them as retained any freehold in England had a right of voting at the ensuing election; such who had sold their freeholds, and such who had none, were exactly in the same situation as all the rest of his Majesty's English subjects who were non electors, and had no right of voting at an election. The first, that is, those who retained any freehold, although they were debarred the exercise of their right by absence, yet it was a voluntary absence; and all of you know, that when any freeholder is absent on such an occasion, it is his own fault; but yet he must abide by the decision of the remaining freeholders who do vote: The two last, that is, those who had sold their freeholds, or those who had none to sell, as they must have abided by the election of the freeholders who voted, had they been present;

so

ſo their abſence, whether in England, on the ſea, or upon the land of America, made no difference. It is plain then that the firſt planters, the forefathers of the preſent coloniſts, were not only repreſented in parliament at the time of their emigration, but even after it, during the courſe of their lives. And indeed this muſt have been the expreſs condition on the ſide of the firſt planters, when they were ſuffered, under a royal charter, to quit this country for good and all, to go and live beyond ſeas, and to retain all the noble privileges for them and their poſterity of free-born ſubjects: I ſay, expreſs conditions, if not in words at leaſt by tacit conſent and fair implication; for if all free-born ſubjects, reſident now in Great-Britain are under the power of the ſupreme government of the realm, all who claim ſuch privileges muſt be equally ſo; without which they can have no right to them: but their very condition at the time of their emigration will prove the fact. Suffered, as they were, to abſent themſelves, they were neither convicts exiled to a foreign land, nor orphans deſtitute of a tender parent, willing and able to protect them: No; they were adventurers who ſought to better their fortunes in a country unknown; who had to combat with the dangers of the ſea; a difference of climate; a ſet of barbarians, uncivilized and

jealous

jealous of their property; an uncultivated country and numberleſs other difficulties, and who relied upon the conſtant aſſiſtance and protection of England for the eſtabliſhment of their colony in time of peace, and the defence of it in time of war. No ſubjects then of this realm could be more dependant upon the mother country, than the firſt planters were; evidently repreſented in parliament, acknowledging the ſupremacy of the legiſlature, and confident of their protection, they quitted England, to leave to their children all the rights they enjoyed themſelves, with the valuable acquiſition of territories, which ſhould enrich their poſterity. The preſent coloniſts are that poſterity; they enjoy all the rights and privileges of their forefathers, with the encreaſe of territory, although not of dominion; for according to the maxim already laid down they cannot poſſeſs more rights and privileges over their mother country than their forefathers had to beſtow.

As repreſentatives therefore of the rights of their progenitors, in the ſame light that an heir apparent is the repreſentative of an eſtate entailed upon him, the preſent coloniſts inherit the privileges of their forefathers, and are to be conſidered as belonging to thoſe boroughs, cities, or counties, from whence their forefathers iſſued: they ſtand

in

in their place, and muſt be reckoned among the people thereof, non preſidents, non electors, or non free-holders, but ſtill virtually repreſented in a Britiſh parliament, as fully as the non electors reſident in Great-Britain are at this time.

Judge now for yourſelves, whether theſe American coloniſts,* theſe ſubjects of the realm, although poſſeſſing a foreign land, are not equally repreſented in parliament with all of you who have no right of voting at an election, and yet are indiſpenſably bound by duty, and that duty reſulting from your original conſtitution to pay implicit obedience to all laws, ſtatutes, taxations, whether internal or external, authorized, preſcribed and warranted by the ſupreme legiſlative of the land, that is aſſented to by the King, lords, and commons in parliament aſſembled, and judge impartially what grounds theſe coloniſts can have under the foregoing pleas for their preſent defection, by which they have involved, at leaſt for the time being, many eminent merchants and mecanicks of this land in the greateſt difficulties.

Let us now ſee whether their laſt reſource of an *infringement* of their charters hath more validity in it than all the reſt.

* The coloniſts are virtually repreſented in parliament as fully as the non electors reſident in Great-Britain.

To conclude that any charter is uncapable of the controul of that government under which it holds, is to ſuppoſe that ſuch charter contains prerogatives and powers equal with the government itſelf, which is a greater abſurdity ; for ſome degree of ſuperiority muſt remain in that power which gives, over that power which receives ; otherwiſe, from the inſtant the charter is perfected, the grantees become a ſovereign power, neither directly or indirectly dependant upon that government which gave them conſtitution. Now the greateſt of all grants in this county is held by parliamentary charter ; and unleſs I am mis-informed, this is the caſe of the Eaſt-India company; yet ſhould they attempt to ſhake off the ſovereignty of this country over them, I appeal to themſelves, whether they would not violate their charter ; or whether, great and extenſive as their privileges may be, there are not ſuch reſtrictions in their charter, as effectually manifeſt the ſuperiority of that power which gave it, over that which received it.

A parliamentary charter, I have ſaid, is the greateſt of all others, as whatever conditions are granted therein are controulable by no power whatſoever, becauſe it is an act of the legiſlature of the land, that is, of ſovereign authority, beyond which no power over the Britiſh dominions can exiſt :

exiſt: but this is not the caſe of the Americans; they hold by a royal, not parliamentary charter, the difference of which I will now explain to you, as derived from the conſtitution of this country.

The ſovereign * power is agreed to be in the king, but it is a two-fold power. The one in parliament, as he is aſſiſted by the whole ſtate; the other out of parliament, as he is ſole and ſingular, guided merely by his own will. And of theſe two powers the one is greater, and can direct and controul the other; and that is the "ſuprema poteſtas," or ſovereign power of the realm; the other is "ſubordinata," that is, ſubordinate to it.

The king's power then in parliament exceeds his power out of parliament, as far as ſupreme and ſovereign authority can exceed limited prerogative in a mixed ſtate.

The king may † make ſuch a grant out of parliament as ſhall bind him and his ſucceſſors; he cannot revoke it, nor his ſucceſſors; but by his power in parliament he may defeat and avoid it.

Again, 11. Rep. 87. Dyer 52. The King cannot make a grant "non obſtante," any ſtatute made, or to be made; if he doth, any ſubſequent ſtatute, prohibiting

* Petit † Petit.

what is granted, will be a revocation of the grant.

The inference from this is plain and obvious: that no royal charter, granted out of parliament, can preclude the high prerogatives of parliament, or exempt the colonies from their plenary juriſdiction and controul over leige ſubjects of the King.

Nor is it a conſequential argument, becauſe any of the colonies have, by a royal charter, a power of making laws for their own community, if not repugnant to the laws of England; or of impoſing taxes by their own repreſentatives, for their internal police, that therefore they ſhall not be liable to taxation of any kind by act of parliament; ſince the leſſer power never can exclude the greater, and that we have ſeen the King's authority out of parliament is that leſſer power, and his authority in parliament that ſovereign power which can controul and give the law to all others; and here let it be remembered, that the late Stamp-act had the royal aſſent.

"Let us ſuppoſe, that the uſage of "raiſing money in the ſeveral colonies, "for ſeparate and local purpoſes, was "founded upon an act of the whole le-"giſlature," (that is a grant by a parliamentary charter) "then the colonies

"would,

" would, in that reſpect, be in the ſame " ſituation with the ſeveral counties in " England, which do, by authority of par- " liament, raiſe money within themſelves, " for their ſeparate and local purpoſes : " but no man ever conceived, that this " regulation of internal police would " give riſe to a debate, whether every " county was not a kingdom ?"

The royal charters themſelves differ in extent of privileges; the utmoſt whereof is contained in that of Maryland, where-in the king covenants for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, that " he and they ſhall at no time hereafter ſet, or cauſe to ſet, any impoſition or other taxation upon the lands, goods, or chattels, within the ſaid province, or upon any goods or mer-chandize," which includes both internal and external taxes; yet ſtill this is but a royal grant, out of parliament, binding the royal prerogative, but not excluding his greater power in parliament, where he is in the fullneſs of his majeſty, that is, in the fullneſs of his ſovereignty over all the Britiſh dominions.

Granting, therefore, the utmoſt lati-tude to the charters of the American co-lonies, by taking it from the Maryland charter, it is very plain they cannot be abſolved from an implicit obedience to acts of parliament; becauſe no power can

give

give them that which it hath not itſelf; and that the King hath not, by his prerogative, the right of precluding the privileges of parliament; and, therefore, a ſubmiſſion * to any act of parliament can never be an infringement of their charters: but ſince theſe people lay ſo much ſtreſs upon thoſe charters, it may be worth while, at this criſis, to lay before you the conditions of ſome of them, by which you will be enabled to judge how far they, who ſo loudly and tumultuouſly complain of a breach of the rights and privileges belonging to a Britiſh ſubject, have performed the articles of their reſpective covenants.

On † occaſion of the Stamp-act, the general aſſembly of the Virginians came to ſeveral reſolutions, couched in ſuch terms, that the governor thought fit to diſſolve them.

In Virginia alſo the juſtices of Weſtmorland met, and unanimouſly reſigned their offices, leſt they ſhould become inſtrumental in the deſtruction of their country's moſt eſſential rights and liberties; that is, leſt they ſhould aſſent to the Stamp-act, not impoſed on them (according to American logic) by their own con-

* Submiſſion to any act of parliament is not an infringement of a royal charter.

† Owen's Collection of Charters.

ſent,

ſent, or their legal repreſentatives in Britiſh parliament.

Now it is remarkable, that the general aſſembly of Virginia did not conſtitute the ſupreme court which was to make laws, or impoſe taxes, for that province: No; by the 8th article of the firſt and ſecond charters of King James I. this power was expreſsly reſerved to a council which was to be ALWAYS reſident in England, to have the ſuperiour management and direction of all matters that might concern the province, and was to be called the King's own council of Virginia: many peers of the realm, as well as commoners, compoſed this council, which had full power to make all manner of orders, laws, &c. at their diſcretion, and to admit and receive any perſon into their company, corporation or freedom; and from the inſtant the colony had the requiſite notice of this the King's pleaſure, all laws formerly made by them were to ceaſe.

The charter of the Penſylvanians is ſtill more explicit.

" Penn and his heirs ſhall be authorized " to make laws, provided a tranſcript of " the ſame be tranſmitted to England, " to be confirmed by royal authority; " otherwiſe to be void."

Grants full licence to trade, but according to the laws made, or to be made:

" Saving

" Saving unto us, our heirs and ſucceſ-
" ſors, ſuch impoſitions and cuſtoms as
" by *act of parliament* are and ſhall be
" appointed; and reſerving a power to
" ſeize and reſume the government of the
" province, on non-payment, until ſuch
" payment ſhall be made good."

In oppoſition to ſuch reſtrictions, and in the face of their charter, the aſſembly at Philadelphia came to divers reſolutions, *inter alia*.

" Reſolved, N. C. D.

" That it is the inherent birth-right
" and indubitable privilege of every Bri-
" tiſh ſubject to be taxed only by his
" own conſent, or that of his legal repre-
" ſentatives, in conjunction with his ma-
" jeſty, or his ſubſtitutes.

" That the only repreſentatives of the
" inhabitants of this province are the per-
" ſons they annually elect to ſerve as mem-
" bers of aſſembly.

" That the taxation of the people of
" this province, by any other perſons
" whatſoever than ſuch their repreſen-
" tatives in aſſembly, is unconſtitutional,
" and ſubverſive of their moſt valuable
" rights."

The colony of Maſſachuſett's Bay were foremoſt among the refractory, and chimed in with the moſt tumultuous; in conſe-quence of which their governor, Mr. Ber-

nard,

nard, a ſenſible and wiſe man, and truly zealous for their intereſts, forewarned them of the conſequences which might attend their miſbehaviour, by a ſpeech, of which the following is an extract * :

" I ſhall not enter into any diſquiſi-
" tion of the policy of this act; I have
" only to ſay, it is an act of parliament
" of Great Britain, and as ſuch ought
" to be obeyed by the ſubjects of Great
" Britain. And I truſt that the ſupre-
" macy of that parliament over all the
" members of their wide and diffuſed em-
" pire never was, and never will be, denied
" within theſe walls.

" The right of the parliament of Great
" Britain to make laws for her American
" colonies, however it has been contro-
" verted in America, remains indiſputable
" at Weſtminſter. If it is yet to be
" made a queſtion, who ſhall determine
" it but the parliament? If the par-
" liament declares, that this right is in-
" herent in them, are they like to ac-
" quieſce in an *open* and *forcible oppo-*
" *ſition* to the exerciſe of it? will they
" not more probably maintain ſuch right,
" and ſupport their own authority?

" It is ſaid, the gentlemen who op-
" poſed this act in the houſe of Com-

* Owen's Collection of Charters.

" mons, did not diſpute the authority of
" parliament to make ſuch a law, but ar-
" gued upon the inexpediency of it at
" this time, and the inabilities of the
" colonies to bear ſuch an impoſition:
" theſe are two diſtinct queſtions, which
" may receive different anſwers.

" The power of taxing the colonies
" may be admitted, and yet the expedi-
" ency of exerciſing that power at ſuch a
" time may be denied: but if the queſ-
" tions are blended together, ſo as to ad-
" mit of but one anſwer, the affirmative
" of the right of parliament will conclude
" for the expediency of this act.

" Conſider, therefore, gentlemen, if
" you found your application for relief
" upon denying the parliament's right to
" make ſuch a law, whether you will not
" take from your friends and advocates
" the uſe of thoſe arguments which are
" moſt likely to procure the relief you
" deſire."

Such a ſpeech as this became a governor of a Britiſh colony, at the ſame time that it manifeſted his zeal for the intereſt of that province over which he preſided. It alſo ſhewed his knowledge of the conſtitution of this country, and of the powers of the ſupreme legiſlature, to which we are all bound in implicit obedience, yet with a reſerve of ſetting forth

our

our grievances by humble petitions, as long as we do it in a ſubmiſſive manner, as becomes dutiful ſubjects, but not by riot and tumult, and an open and forcible violation of the laws. And therefore, Mr. Bernard ſaith, obey the act for the time, remonſtrate againſt it as a burthen too heavy for you to bear, and reſt aſſured, that Great Britain, ever tender to her colonies, which ſhe conſiders as her children, will attend to your petitions, and give you all the reaſonable relief you can deſire.

But ſenſible and humane as this ſpeech was, the Maſſachuſetts gave no ear to it; but on the contrary, like a parcel of wild Enthuſiaſts, they preſented to their governor a paſſionate and inconcluſive addreſs; in which, among other things, they ſay, "We cannot but be ſurpriſed "at an intimation in your ſpeech, that "the parliament will require a ſubmiſſion "to an act as a preliminary to their granting relief from the unconſtitutional burthens of it, which we apprehend in-"cludes a ſuggeſtion in it far from your "Excellency's deſign, and ſuppoſes ſuch "a wanton exerciſe of mere arbitrary "power, as ought never to be ſurmiſed "of the patrons of liberty and juſtice. "We beg leave to obſerve, that the char-"ter of this province inveſts the general

" aſſembly with the power of making " laws for its internal government and " taxation, and that this charter has ne- " ver yet been forfeited. The parliament " has a right to make all laws within the " limits of their own conſtitution, they " claim no more.

" There are certain original rights be- " longing to the people which the parlia- " ment itſelf cannot diveſt them of: " among theſe is the right of repreſenta- " tion in the ſame body which exerciſes " the power of taxations, &c.

" We hope we may, without offence, " put your Excellency in mind of that " moſt grievous ſentence of excommuni- " cation, ſolemnly denounced by the " church, in the name of the moſt ſacred " Trinity, in the preſence of King Henry " the IIId, and the eſtates of the realm, " againſt all thoſe who ſhould make ſta- " tutes, or obſerve them being made, " contrary to the liberties of Magna " Charta." The ſubſtance of all which may be collected within very few words.

Firſt, They accuſe the Britiſh parlia- ment of a wanton exerciſe of mere arbi- trary power, if they inſiſt on obedience to the ſtamp act, and then they call them the patrons of liberty and juſtice. This is to break a man's head, and then give him a plaiſter.

Secondly

Secondly, They talk of their inherent rights, of the rights of repreſentation in the ſame body which exerciſes the power of taxation.

Thirdly, They claim, by their charter, the power of making laws for the internal government of the province and its taxation, and aſſert, they have never forfeited that charter.

Fourthly, They quote a precedent in the reign of Henry the IIId, to ſhew the ſupremacy of the church over Magna Charta.

By this time you all of you know, that the power of making laws, or of impoſing internal taxes for the police of any community, held by royal charter, cannot preclude the rights of the ſupreme legiſlature over that ſubordinate community: and, therefore, that you may not be confuſed by this jargon of addreſs, I will confine myſelf to thoſe parts of it which relate to the charter of theſe coloniſts, and to the remarkable precedent they have quoted.

The Maſſachuſetts had a charter granted them, which they forfeited in the year 1686, chiefly by a conduct parallel to this in which they appear to take ſo much glory: but that you may not think me partial, I will give you a ſhort account of it, as related by Mr. Hutchinſon, their

lieutenant

lieutenant governor, in his hiſtory of Maſſachuſetts Bay, publiſhed but laſt year.

" It was a difficult thing, ſaith he, for " the Maſſachuſetts to conform to the acts " of trade and navigation : they acknow- " ledge, in their letter to their agents " 1679, they had not done it. — They " apprehend them to be an invaſion of the " rights, liberties, and privileges of the " colony, *they not being repreſented in par-* " *liament* ; and according to the uſual ſay- " ings of the learned in the law, the laws " of England were bounded within the " four ſeas, and did not reach America."

They were at that time then by one degree more audacious than they are now, for they even denied the power of parliament to impoſe external taxes, and refuſed ſubmitting to the laws of trade and navigation. And what was the conſequence of it ? Why, as Mr. Hutchinſon tells us, the whole colony ſuffered the loſs of their charter, this being the greateſt article of charge againſt it. In conſequence of which, royal commiſſions were ſent to govern the province ; nor could they get another charter, notwithſtanding all their ſollicitations, until the year 1692, under King William and Queen Mary ; in the preamble of which, the vacating their former charter is expreſſed as follows : " And whereas, in the term of the Holy

" Trinity,

" Trinity, in the 36th year of the reign of " our deareſt uncle King Charles II. a judg- " ment was given in our court of Chan- " cery, then ſitting at Weſtminſter, upon a " writ of *ſcire facias*, brought and proſe- " cuted in the ſaid court againſt the go- " vernor and company of Maſſachuſetts " Bay, in New England; and that the " ſaid letters patent of our ſaid royal " grandfather King Charles the Iſt, bear- " ing date at Weſtminſter the 4th day of " March, in the fourth year of his reign, " made and granted to the ſaid governor " and company of Maſſachuſetts Bay, in " New England, and the enrollment of " the ſame, ſhould be cancelled, vacated, " annihilated, &c."

One ſhould have thought, that the for- feiting of one charter would have been a warning to theſe people not to riſe up againſt Engliſh acts of parliament; but it ſeems their infatuation continues, and they now renew their claim of taxing them- ſelves, becauſe they are not repreſented in a Britiſh parliament, and that no ſubject can be taxed but by his own conſent.

That they are repreſented in a Britiſh parliament as far as non electors can be, which is, as far as the majority of the in- habitants of Great Britain are, has been already ſhewn: but as they inſiſt, that every ſubject muſt be taxed by his own

conſent,

conſent, or his legal repreſentative, it neceſſarily follows, that unleſs their aſſembly, which voted the addreſs to their governor, Mr. Bernard, conſiſted of members legally elected, according to their preſent charter, that very aſſembly is unconſtitutional, according to their own way of reaſoning, and in the full exerciſe of a mere arbitrary tyrannical power: and their arguments, which can never be valid, againſt the ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature, will yet be the moſt forcible ones againſt the legality of their proceedings, even within their own community, and will add double weight to their already flagrant and iniquitous oppoſition to the juſt authority of the Britiſh legiſlature.

" The great and general court of aſſem-
" bly (ſaith their charter, ſhall conſiſt of
" ſuch freeholders of our province, as
" ſhall, from time to time, be elected, or
" deputed, by the major part of the free-
" holders, and other inhabitants: pro-
" vided always, that no freeholder, or
" other perſon, ſhall have a vote at the
" election of members to ſerve in the
" great and general court of aſſembly, to
" be held as aforeſaid, who, at the time
" of ſuch election, ſhall not have an eſtate
" of freehold in land, within our ſaid pro-
" vince or territory, of the value of forty

ſhillings

" ſhillings *per ann.* at leaſt, or other eſ-
" tate to the valu: of fiftypounds ſterling."

" And again, "grants, eſtabliſhes, and
" ordains, that for ever after there ſhall
" be a liberty of conſcience allowed, in
" the worſhip of God, to all Chriſtians
" (except Papiſts) inhabiting, or which
" ſhall inhabit, or be reſident within our
" ſaid province or territory."

Nothing ſure can be more plain or preciſe. The requiſites for a vote at an election of a member to ſerve in their general aſſembly are, a freehold of forty ſhillings a year, or an eſtate to the value of fifty pounds: nor can any inhabitant forfeit his right of freedom by any difference of opinion in religious points. Theſe are expreſs conditions in their charter; how far they have kept up to them, their own lieutenant governor ſhall declare.

" None may now be admitted a free-
" man of that company, unleſs he be a
" church member thereof (*i. e.* a con-
" gregational puritan.) None have voice
" in the election of governor, deputy, and
" aſſiſtants. None are to be magiſtrates,
" officers or jurymen, grand or petit,
" but freemen. The miniſters give their
" votes in all elections of magiſtrates.
" Now the moſt of the perſons at New
" England are not admitted of their
" church, and therefore are not freemen;

" and when they come to be tried there,
" be it for life or limb, name or eſtate,
" or whatſoever, they muſt be tried and
" judged too by thoſe of the church, who
" are in a ſort their adverſaries : how
" equal that hath been, or may be, ſome
" by experience do know, others may
" judge.

" Had they been deprived of their ci-
" vil privileges in England by an act of
" parliament, unleſs they would join in
" communion with the churches there,
" it might have very well been the firſt
" in the roll of grievances."

Now I leave you all to judge, how far this aſſembly can be deemed a legal repreſentation of all the freemen of that province, compoſed as it is of a ſet of puritanical zealots, elected only by thoſe of their own communion, and not by the majority of the freemen ; and whether the freemen, who are excluded, may not juſtly complain of an infringement of their charter by this aſſembly, which is now daringly attacking the rights of parliament.

As to their quotation of a ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt the King and the ſtate in the reign of Henry the IIId, it is litttle to the purpoſe, unleſs a puritan of their perſuaſion was to be inveſted with papal power over the Britiſh dominions ;

dominions ; but as they have choſen to go ſo far back into our hiſtory for a precedent, I will meet them half way, and quote you an anſwer of the ſame King on a ſimilar occaſion.

In the year 1252-37 Henry III. the maſter of the hoſpital of St. John of Jeruſalem in Clerkenwell, waiting patiently for a proper opportunity of ſpeaking with the King concerning an injury done him, opened his complaint and ſhowed ſome charters of protection granted by former kings, and by the King himſelf ; to whom the King with a loud voice replied in anger, and with a great oath, " you and the templers have " ſo many liberties and charters, that your " ſuperfluous poſſeſſions make you proud, " and your pride makes ye mad : Thoſe " things therefore ought prudently to " be revoked, which were imprudently " granted ; and adviſedly to be reſumed, " which were unadviſedly ſquandered a- " way."

None of you, I am perſuaded, wiſh to ſee ſuch a ſentence put in execution againſt your colonies, but all will agree that their conduct has been highly undutiful and refractory, and that the reaſons they alledge are weak and inconcluſive ; for by this time no doubt it is plain to you,

That your colonies are annexed like ſo many appendages to the Britiſh dominions.

That the inhabitants are liege ſubjects, and hold their poſſeſſions and privileges by charter from the King out of parliament, controulable by the King in parliament, according to the maxim herein before mentioned, that the King cannot make a grant non obſtante any ſtatute made or to be made; if he doth, any ſubſequent ſtatute prohibiting what is granted, will be a revocation of the grant.

That their charters can be vacated, and cancelled in a Court of Chancery, as that o the company of Maſſachuſetts bay was.

That the leſſer power granted by the King to the courts of aſſembly, to impoſe taxes for the internal police of their ſeparate communities, can never preclude the greater power of parliament to tax the whole colonies.

That the ſame authority which hath the right of impoſing external taxes, muſt from the nature of our conſtitution have an equal right of impoſing internal ones.

That the power of taxing and making laws are coincidents and convertible.

That the diſtinction of a repreſentative and legiſlative capacity in the Houſe of Commons, is nothing but a jingle of words, a bare diſtinction without a difference.

That the coloniſts are as fully repreſented in parliament, as all the non electors of Great-Britain; that is, as the far greater part

part of its inhabitants, and therefore, on all the above accounts, that the power of binding the colonies by all manner of laws, taxes internal and external that the King and parliament ſhall think fit to impoſe, is clear, indiſputable, and uncontrovertable; for the coloniſts are as much under the dominion of the ſupreme legiſlature as any of us all, and their being permitted to retain the rights and privileges of a free born ſubject, is the return of a ſupremacy for obedience to its laws and ordinances.

One of the reaſons aſſigned in a ſtatute* 15th Car II. for prohibiting all European commodities from being imported directly to America, was to keep the colonies in a firmer dependance upon England, and render them more beneficial to it. Another ſtatute†(Scobell's Acts. 1656) ſpeaking of the plantations, ſaith, " which are and ought to be ſubordinate to and dependant upon England ; and hath ever ſince the planting thereof been, and ought to be ſubject to ſuch laws, orders and regulations as are or ſhall be made by the parliament of England." Nor ſhould it be objected that this laſt act was made in the time of the commonwealth ; ſince, in whatever hands the ſupreme power of Great-Britain may be veſted, the colonies muſt follow the fate of

* Cap. 7. Par. 5. † Cap. 28.

that

that government as long as they are annexed to the Britiſh dominions; for, by the ſame rule, the right over Jamaica might be denied, becauſe it was conquered in the time of Oliver Cromwell. Neither can they draw any inference from an argument made uſe of by ſome of their advocates; thata money*bill takes its riſe in the Houſe of Commons, and therefore the Commons only have a right of impoſing taxes. The fact is true, but the concluſion falſe; it is the King and parliament only that have a right of impoſing taxes on the ſubject: every bill muſt take its riſe in one houſe or other; and while the Houſe of Lords hath an equal right with the Commons of debating upon the expediency of a money bill, and of rejecting it; and while the King retains the royal prerogative of refuſing his aſſents, that is, while our conſtitution remains entire, it matters not to the preſent point, in which houſe a money bill takes its riſe, becauſe it concludes not for or againſt the preſent queſtion, viz. The right of the Britiſh legiſlature to impoſe internal as well as external taxes on the colonies.

* Originally this could not be the caſe; becauſe the parliament ſat in one houſe, nor is it our buſineſs to enquire when and how the two houſes agreed upon ſeparate privileges.

Upon

Upon the whole, then, the preſent defection of the coloniſts is as groundleſs as it is preſumptuous and ungrateful to their mother country, by whoſe indulgence, aſſiſtance and protection, they hold all their valuable poſſeſſions.

If they have really been aggrieved, and crampt in their trade beyond the bounds of moderation, and without any ſuperior advantages reſulting therefrom to this country, (for according to the cuſtom * of other countries, we have a right to keep our plantation trade to ourſelves;) let them remember they have alſo been led into the channel of redreſs by ſome ſenſible men among them, whoſe hearts inclined to their benefit, whoſe heads laboured for their true intereſt, and whoſe wholſome advice they have contemned and trod under foot; and in lieu thereof have ſet up a mock congreſs, an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of repreſentatives, wherein they have uſurped a power as unconſtitutional as raſh and intemperate, which, were it not for the tenderneſs that Britain hath, and I hope ever will have for all her children, might ſubject them to the fate of the Maſſachuſets in 1686.

But it hath been urged, that former wiſe miniſters have ever declined exer-

* 15 Car. II. Cap. 7. Par. 5

ciſing

ciſing a power of internal taxation over the colonies, from an unwillingneſs to give the leaſt umbrage to any of his majeſty's ſubjects, from whoſe trade Great Britain was ſo highly benefitted :—be it ſo; this argument reacheth no farther than to the expediency of the Stamp-act, and not to the right of making it.

That right hath now been exerted, and as daringly denied by acts of open and forcible reſiſtance, ſo near a-kin to rebellion, that it is become very hard to draw the line of diſtinction: and, therefore, that right is now, or never, to be aſcertained. Let us then, in a firm confidence of the wiſdom and juſtice of parliament, look up to it with all due deference and obedience, yet with hopes, that this important point, which is, for ever after, to eſtabliſh the juſt and high ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature, will be finally ſettled; not evaſively, by a few general terms, which may tend rather to leave the queſtion in ſuſpenſe, but by expreſs words, aſſerting the undoubted right of parliament to impoſe internal, external and all other taxes, (if there can be any other) on the coloniſts, equally as on the inhabitants of Great Britain.

Let us hope that due attention will be paid to that part of the Maſſachuſett's addreſs

dreſs, which affects ſurprize at an intimation, " that the parliament will require " a ſubmiſſion to an act, as a preliminary " to their granting relief from the un- " conſtitutional burthens of it; which " they call a wanton exerciſe of mere " arbitrary power," and that ſo daring an inſult will manifeſt the neceſſity of ſupporting the Stamp-act, however altered or modified in behalf of the colonies, till they dutifully ſubmit to it, that the ſupreme legiſlature may not ſuffer in its rights, nor the coloniſts think they may make terms with Great Britain ſword in Hand.

We are all ſure that the parliament will ever attend to the petitions of dutiful ſubjects, will relieve them where they are aggrieved; and none of his majeſty's ſubjects have had greater proofs of their watchful attention and indulgence than the Americans have.

If they have ſuffered by any late reſtrictions on their trade with Spain, or other European powers, by duties on linen or molaſſes, or in any other ſhape, the parliament is open to their complaints, and prepared to redreſs them; but, to borrow an expreſſion, " if it is once under- " ſtood, that the executive power is to " wait for, and be guided by the advice

" of the people, they then direct the ex-
" ecutive power, or, in other words, be-
" come the executive power themſelves;
" from whence it follows, that a great
" empire is in imminent danger, when
" the executive power is exerciſed by the
" people."

FINIS.

AN

APPLICATION

OF

POLITICAL RULES,

TO

GREAT-BRITAIN,

IRELAND AND AMERICA.

[Price One Shilling and Six-pence.]

AN

APPLICATION

Of ſome General

POLITICAL RULES,

TO THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN,

IRELAND AND AMERICA.

In a LETTER

To the Right Honourable EARL TEMPLE.

Clariſſimi viri noſtra civitatis temporibus optimis hoc ſibi ampliſſimum, pulcherrimumque ducebant, ab hoſpitibus clientibuſque ſuis, ab exteris nationibus quæ in Amicſtiam populi Romani ditionemque eſſent, injurias propulſare cerumque cauſas defendere.

Cicero. Orat. Contra Cæcilium.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ALMON, oppoſite Burlington-Houſe, in Piccadilly. 1766.

AN

APPLICATION, &c.

My LORD,

THE diffuſive benevolence, and diſintereſted deportment, which have characteriſed your Lordſhip, through each private and public ſtage of life, points you out as the perſon moſt proper to be addreſſed, by a man, who is willing to lay open ſome errors in our policy, which require a ſpeedy correction; you, my Lord, will extend your public concern beyond the confines of your native country, and conſider every part of the human ſpecies, which has any connection with England, as meriting your care and patronage.

There is not, perhaps, any one point of view, in which we can behold this kingdom at preſent more truly intereſting, than that of the relation which it bears to thoſe people, who are connected with us, in a ſecondary *, or kind of dependant nature; ſome

* Scotland without doubt, is united with England by the ſolemn act of both nations, but the fundametal difference of their laws is ſo great, and their manners and ideas of government ſo very diſcordant, that I muſt ſtill behold them in the ſecondary light in which it is placed above.

united, but not receiving our municipal law, others receiving our laws after a ſtruggle of many centuries, and others willing to make laws for themſelves, had they a power to execute them. After a war, therefore, in which a conſtitutional exertion of our native ſtrength has procured us at leaſt a very reſpectable commerce, nothing can more juſtly merit our attention, than thoſe nations, who, beyond the limits of England, form the ſeveral branches of the Britiſh empire they are numerous, they inhabit countries abounding in all the neceſſaries of life, and fruitful of the materials of many of its comforts; but above all, theſe countries produce the *genus acre virum marſam pubemque ſabellam*; their cuſtoms, nay, even their countenances, are Britiſh, after a ſeries of generations; they have, in ſhort, every title to the utmoſt care and regard of the mother country, which intereſt or affection ſhould beſtow.

The more heterogeneous the parts which enter into the compoſition of any body, the leſs capable of ſolidity and permanency will it be; the jarring of their natures preventing that intimate union and firm coheſion, in which the ſtrength of natural and of political bodies does primarily conſiſt. This compactneſs, once attained to, good laws and inſtitutions communicating their ſpirit, give it that powerful momentum, which nothing

can

can reſiſt; if then a kingdom, from circumſtances of colonization or otherwiſe, muſt have a connection with other people, it is the duty and intereſt of that kingdom to aſſimilate theſe people with themſelves, as ſoon as poſſible; if to be born and ſupported by them, the nearer they are drawn like armour or garment, the leſs ſenſible will the principal be of the burthen; if able to ſupport themſelves, perhaps aſſiſt the mother country, the more cloſely and naturally joined, the more capable like our limbs, will they be to help and be of ſervice; and yet ſtrange, although moſt certain it is, that the conqueſts and colonies of nations, who themſelves have enjoyed Liberty, and are therefore more diſcerning of the advantages which it muſt bring to others, have generally felt more oppreſſion, and have been leſs tenderly cheriſhed by the conquerors or colonizers, than thoſe of abſolute monarchies. Thus we perceive, the conquered provinces of Rome, far from being diſpleaſed * at the fall of the commonwealth and eſtabliſhment of deſpotiſm. Whether this ariſes from the mean opinion, which conquerors for the moſt part conceive of the conquered, deeming them unworthy of, and incapable to make the proper uſe of Liberty, or from an hatred, im-

* *Neque provinciæ illum ſtatum rerum abnuebans, ſuſpecto ſenatus populique imperio, ob certamina potentium et averitiam magiſtratum*——Tacit. 1. Annal.

 preſſed

preſſed by their obſtinacy when an enemy, I cannot determine: however, am inclined to believe, that upon the firſt reduction of them, the conquerors dared not truſt them with Liberty; but upon removal of theſe apprehenſions, by length of time and other circumſtances, they ceaſed to be actuated by the proper motive of conqueſt; the mighty maſters themſelves, degenerate and corrupt, loſe that benevolence which ſhould ſhare the bleſſings of a free government with their fellow creatures; nor are they impelled by a deſire of ſerving the human ſpecies, in being the inſtruments of the Almighty, in reſtoring it to the exerciſe of a rational, and ſince the goſpel diſpenſation, a chriſtian well-tempered Liberty: and this, with ſelf-defence, which ſuggeſts conqueſt by way of prevention *, are, in my opinion, the only principles upon which a conqueror can by any means whatſoever be juſtified. If they conſider the hearts of thoſe who have the misfortune of falling under their domination, as too narrow for the entertainment of the noble and elevated ſentiments of Liberty, and compare them to weak ſtomachs, which may be clogged and diſabled by ſolid and ſubſtantial food; or an eye, which long uſed to darkneſs, unexerciſed by real objects, nothing preſenting but figures and fantoms of

* *Cui poteſtas nocendi exipitur utiliter vincitur.*
Aug. de Civitate Dei.

its

its own creation, and which may be diſordered, perhaps deſtroyed by too ſudden an infuſion of a ſtrong light; then ſhould liberty be portioned out to them by degrees, according to a judicious and ſtrict political regimen, previous to which it is the duty of the conqueror to enlarge their underſtandings, meliorate and prepare their hearts, for receiving this plant of *cæleſtial ſeed*; otherwiſe are they left in a worſe condition than before, and all the boaſted encomiums of their maſters upon liberty, and thoſe bleſſings which their conſtitution affords, are but blinds to carry on their deſigns, with vile views of lawleſs dominion, and of a commerce whoſe objects are avarice and luxury.

To a perſon who conſiders the ends of conqueſt in that extenſive, give me leave to add moral and religious light, in which I am well aſſured, that your Lordſhip beholds every political matter; it muſt be evident, from the acknowledged goodneſs of the Creator, that the happineſs of his creatures was the end of their formation; and that in order to give theſe creatures an oppportunity of rendering themſelves more grateful to him, it is placed within their power, by a proper exerciſe of their faculty and freedom of will, to be the meritorious inſtruments of making each other happy. One man has it in his power to ſerve his neighbour, the neighbour gives his aſſiſtance where it is wanting:

wanting: one nation ſupplies by commerce where another is defective, and is relieved in its turn: the conqueror gives to the conquered, arts, ſciences, laws, manners; and receives from the conquered, numbers, friendſhip, additional ſtrength; thereby forming a more powerful community, ſecured againſt external violence, quiet in the cultivation of uſeful knowledge, and in the practice of every moral virtue. It is difficult, I will confeſs, for a people, who behold themſelves ſuperior to others in arts, in arms and induſtry, not to give way to an over favourable opinion of ſelf; and not to bear an haughtineſs of deportment to thoſe, whom they look upon as ſo far beneath them: this may be excuſed, it is true, and charged to the account of human frailty in the uneducated, uninformed part of a people; even there, it were better if otherwiſe, and it is the duty of the leading men in ſuch a ſtate, carefully to ſuppreſs by authority and example every appearance of inſolence; becauſe, no other things, not even ſuperiority of wealth and power, can create ſuch a degree of jealouſy in their neighbours; ſtrangers wiſh for an opportunity of humbling their pride; their own provinces are at beſt but indifferent whether they ſtand or fall, and are often dubious, whether a change of maſter may not turn to their advantage. Surely then, my Lord, a nation happily circumſtanced from ſituation,

from

from climate, from a favourable temperature of mind and body, (all which unjuſtly attributed to chance, are produced by a chain of cauſes framed by providence for good and wiſe purpoſes) a nation thus diſtinguiſhed by heaven, ſhould not look upon theſe advantages as beſtowed merely for their own ſakes, and their effects to terminate within the narrow compaſs of England or of Italy; they ſhould behold themſelves in no other relation of ſuperiority, than as inſtruments of promoting real knowledge, pure religion, and virtuous liberty; the three moſt deſirable objects of human purſuit, and which perfected and refined form permanency, ſubſtantial, and rational happineſs. The power, therefore, which miſapplies advantages thus derived from the ſupreme Being for the above purpoſes; who thinks each country, whoſe inhabitants they can out-number or out-diſcipline, a new ſource of luxury to their diſſipated, effeminate, immoral nobility and gentry; who treat their allies and colonies as miniſters only to their pleaſures and profuſions: the dominion of ſuch a people can be but of ſhort duration; becauſe its exiſtence, and the general ſcheme of providence, are incompatible: their inſolence confirms them that other countries are made for their ſole uſe and gratification; this leads to luxury, to debility, to ſecurity; ſo by natural cauſes, as clear as the laws of motion to the man who

who cloſely obſerves the political effects, which gradations to vice in thoſe individuals conſtituting a community, have always produced; this nation's ruin muſt be accelerated: it muſt give way to ſuperior virtue; from which a completion of the deſigns of providence may with more reaſon be expected. Theſe ideas of the ends of conqueſt, however ill ſuited to the refinement of the age we live in, may I doubt not ſtand the violence of modern ridicule, if fortunate enough to merit your Lordſhip's ſanction; and here, however diſſatisfied with myſelf, when varying in opinion from ſo reſpectable a writer as the Baron Monteſquieu, yet muſt I declare, that the applauſe beſtowed upon the ſpirit, with which Alexander conquered the Perſian empire, by that great politician, ſeems founded upon notions of conqueſt, which ariſe rather from falſe glory and oſtentation, than any real utility to the human ſpecies; elſe would he never have panygerized that hero for renouncing the ſober, manly, virtuous manners of Greece, and adopting the ſoft and luxurious manners of Perſia; and to what end? why, thro' an exceſs of tenderneſs to the vanquiſhed. This I will venture to ſay may be better accounted for by the ſudden turn to pleaſure, which that young hero had taken, and his love for the fair Aſiatick princeſs, than upon any principles of uncommon humanity; and

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it is ſubmitted to your lordſhip, whether his humanity would not have diſplayed itſelf to greater advantage, by bringing over the Perſians to the diſcipline of his own country: it being moſt certain, as he himſelf has obſerved, that ſuch nations, as have the misfortune to be conquered, are for the moſt part degenerated from their original inſtitutions *, rather ſerved by deſtroying their pernicious prejudices, and laid by conqueſt under an happier genius; ſo that leaving a nation to its own bad laws and cuſtoms, which are often a diſgrace to humanity, is like leaving a wayward child to its own bad humours, when wholſome correction ſhould be adminiſtred, in order to reform a nature, perhaps originally vicious (being born in ſin;) and as it is the duty of a parent, whom experience, education, and a mild and moral religion has qualified for the taſk, to beſtow them on his offspring; nay, to uſe ſeverity, if found reluctant to his diſcipline: ſo is it of a conquering nation, enlightened by literature and pure chriſtianity, to offer to the conquered a better ſet of manners than their own; and if rejected, by proper political conſtraints, where the idea of cruelty is totally excluded, compel to receive them, and become happy.

The moderns, to whom chriſtianity has given great advantage over the antients in that

* Monteſquieu l'eſprit d'loix, lib. 10. chap. 14.

article of rendering ſervice to human nature, by their power and influence, have propagated their religion, I mean the Catholick ſect, with a view only to empire and profit : they propagate religion with a deſign of making it, by the aſſiſtance of their prieſts, an engine of dominion, rather than a *light to enlighten the Gentiles* ; and infuſe ſo poiſonous a mixture of wicked and ſuperſtitious prejudices into the chalice, which they preſent to the innocent deluded natives, whom they have ſubdued, or ſet down amongſt ; that inſtead of being invigorated and filled with the ſpirit to perform good and chriſtian works, they become intoxicated by the draught, and are entirely loſt to any notion of the charities. The Proteſtants agree in conſidering trade as their ultimate ; but in matters of religion are ſo cool and indifferent (except in one of our American colonies) that they look upon religion as a plant, which muſt rear itſelf for them, or abſolutely periſh, and ſcandalouſly remiſs in the buſineſs of reclaiming their ſavage fellow-creatures, to which end alone providence has veſted them with ſuch ample powers, think themſelves totally acquitted of doing no ſort of good by the aid of religion, they can withhold themſelves from making it the inſtrument of evil. Such is the abuſe of theſe advantages, by the nations of Europe who are favoured by heaven, and as it were

intruſted

intruſted with the care and inſtruction of the yet uncivilized part of the globe. The Jews, once a choſen people of the Deity, perverſly refuſed the light of the goſpel when offered; the nations of chriſtendom, who ſeem elected to be the diſpenſers of the true religion, either neglect to let in the light upon their fellow-creatures, or throw in ſuch a glare of ſuperſtitious pageantry, as muſt dazzle, or entirely darken their underſtandings.

It is not pretended, that when enterprizes are ſet on foot, when diſcoveries of new countries are propoſed, that undertakers can be ſufficiently animated by the deliberate moral motive which I have inſiſted upon. Veloſco d' Gama, with the other Portugueze adventurers upon the coaſt of Africa, whilſt they were erecting croſſes wherever they landed in honour of chriſtianity, by the acknowledgment of their own hiſtorian, De Feria, received the real ſpur to enterprize from a deſire of gold, and other materials of trade: as did, with ſome addition of a love of fame and glory, the Engliſh navigators, Raleigh, Drake, and others. The thoughtleſs ſeaman and ſoldier, muſt have a mere ſenſual object for his end. But it is the duty of the cool ſpeculative ſtateſman, to dart his eye beyond the ſurface; and to manage in ſuch a manner, that not only his own country, but the human ſpecies, ſhall

receive moral benefit, from the paſſions and propenſities of individuals.

The general obligation by which the civilized parts of the globe are bound to communicate morality, religion, arts and ſciences to the reſt, and conſequently liberty the root of all, (for abſolute conſtraint even to good, puts a negative upon any merit in the action;) I ſay, my Lord, this general obligation had almoſt drawn me from ſight of my particular ſubject, which was contracted to the ideas of that bad policy in free ſtates, which have treated their allies or colonies with ſeverity; who have been remiſs in preparing them for liberty, and when prepared, who have refuſed to beſtow it on them.

The Romans were brave, they were wiſe (in ſpite of Grecian romance), they were virtuous above all other nations; yet were they far from perfection in that part of their policy which related to their allies. It is not the lot of mortals. They entertained notions too exalted of their own merit; and it was with great reluctance, that their neighbours were received into any kind of equality with them; witneſs the indifference of Romulus, in revenging the death of Tatius *, upon the Laurentes, which had a face

* Eam rem minus agre quam dignum erat tuliſſe Romulum ferunt, ſeu ob infidam ſocietatem regni, &c. poſt

face of connivance, if not of having been an accomplice in the murder. The vigour, indeed, and courage, with which the Samnites and other Italian ſtates ſo long defended their independency, was enough to create a jealouſy in the minds of the Romans; and we therefore ſee that it was not, until enemies of greater ſize and danger had obliged them to form their armies out of theſe ſtates, that this jealouſy abated. Yet, to the laſt, the center being the poſt of ſtrength, always conſiſting of the legions and the allies, placed upon the flanks; this military inſtitution, rigidly obſerved, prove, that they continued to entertain ſome doubts, either of the fidelity or capacity of their conquered friends. But as luxury encreaſed, and the apprehenſion of foreign enemies vaniſhed, their antipathy to the allies became more viſible; all notions of that equality, ſo eſſential to the very being of republicks, was intolerable; and lords of the world themſelves, they would lord it over thoſe who ſo powerfully contributed to make them ſo; arrogating the merit of every acquiſition made by the ſtates: the profits they alſo ſeized upon, by monopolizing the conquered lands; in direct oppoſi-

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poſt Tatii mortem ab ſuâ parte non erat regnatum in ſocietate aquâ.

Romani veteres peregrinum regem aſpernabantur, liv. 1.

oppoſition to the old, but not abrogated Licinian law. Thus would they exalt themſelves above their fellow ſoldiers, for no other reaſon, that we can diſcover, but that of being born nearer the Tyber, or within ſight of the Capitol. The allies were diſguſted, and with reaſon; the Mani, the Peligni, over whom, or without whoſe aſſiſtance Rome never had triumphed, beheld theſe acts of inſolence with the warmeſt indignation; they demanded that freedom of the city, to which their ſervices had intitled them; they were ſupported in theſe demands by Mummius *, Beſtia, Cotta, ſome of the moſt reſpectable names of Rome; the ſecond Africanus, who was an eye-witneſs of their bravery, aſſiſted them with his credit and intereſt, and loſt his popularity amongſt the old citizens, by an act of the greateſt equity. Theſe laſt the Patricians had gained, by raiſing jealouſies in their minds againſt the allies and their abettors, and were moſt effectually ſupported by the order of knights, at that time the moſt profligate body of men that ever diſgraced a community; yet, formidable in the poſſeſſion of a judicial power in caſes of bribery, corruption, and miſbehaviour in publick office. What the allies could not obtain by the interceſſion of ſuch

* Vide Appian, on the civil wars of Rome, where he treats of the cauſes of the ſocial war.

great

great and virtuous men, they ſought by force. A war broke out; the greateſt Roman generals, Sextus, Cæſar, Craſſus, even Sylla and Marius, yielded in their turns to the bravery and conduct of a Judacilius, an Egnatius, a Cato; ſo bloody was the war on the ſide of Rome, as to produce an ordinance, that the killed in battle ſhould be buried on the ſpot, and not brought into the city, leſt the numbers of dead bodies ſhould intimidate the people; they armed their freedmen, a ſtep never taken, but in caſes of the greateſt emergency. At length, obliged to divide the allies, they granted to thoſe, who had not appeared in arms, the freedom of the city; by this ſtroke of policy did they confirm the wavering, give hopes to thoſe who had declared againſt them, of obtaining the ſame, looſened the ties of the confederacy, and blunted, in a great meaſure, the edge of animoſity. From the day on which the Julian Law was paſſed (called ſo from Sextus Julius Cæſar, who enacted it) the arms of the republick were more proſperous. However, the war continued even under theſe circumſtances of disjunction, ſo unfavourable to the allies, until they carried their point; and all the Italian ſtates, the Lucanians and Samnites themſelves, names hateful, and let me add, terrible to the Romans, were at length admitted to their freedom.

Thus

Thus, my Lord, does it appear how fatal the pride, the avarice, the ambition, the arrogance of Rome, had nearly proved to the very being of their commonwealth; how an affectation of being ſelect, how a diſdain to mix, to incorporate with their countrymen, and thereby to ſtrengthen the whole, had almoſt produced a total obliteration of the Roman name; and how Rome, by diſregarding theſe ends of conqueſts, for which I have before contended, by endeavouring to engroſs all, were put to the utmoſt ſtretch of policy to ſecure any. If the Romans had frankly ſhared their privileges with the allies, upon the footing they afterwards granted them, had they done it with an air of good-will, then would they have avoided this dreadful war; and the new citizens entertain no diſtinction in their minds between themſelves and the old citizens, they would have conſidered the riches, the ſplendor, the glory of Rome as their own; they would feel her misfortunes, and rejoice in her proſperity; and they would have maintained a ſuperiority in the love, gratitude, and reſpect of the new citizens, though not by the laws and conſtitution: in ſhort, the allies would ſuffer Rome to govern, but not admit her right of doing ſo. But the very bad grace with which theſe immunities were ceded, extorted as it were by force, a ſeries of indignities; ſuch as turning them out of the city during the

the time of elections, with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of contempt, had ſo diſguſted theſe high-ſpirited people, and ſo alienated their hearts from their fellow citizens, that we behold them ever afterwards ſtimulated by a remembrance of ſuch ſevere treatment, to give their votes againſt the Patrician party, whether in the right or in the wrong, and forced into the arms of every ambitious diſturber of the public tranquility. I will admit, that the party of whom I now ſpeak, did in the end, by ſupporting Cæſar, rivet the chains of Roman ſlavery; yet muſt it be inſiſted upon, that the proud Patrician did kindle and blow up that fire in which theſe chains were forged; they who ſhould have wiſdom to foreſee the bad effects of injuring a brave people, in whom moderation ſhould have been a check upon avarice and inſolence, whoſe ſagacity ſhould have pointed out to them, how unreaſonable that they alone ſhould ſhare the conquered lands, and enjoy the ſpoils of a plundered world. Men who would not ſee theſe things, could not with reaſon complain, if thoſe who ſuffered this unjuſt excluſion from their immunities and rights, were not ſo philoſophically temperate, as to be always in an humour to forgive and reject every preferred occaſion of being revenged. Who, my Lord, ſhould be wiſe in a country, if that body of men are not ſo, whoſe fortunes, whoſe ſtations, furniſh lei-

ſure, with all the other means of acquiring uſeful knowledge, and of improving their natural talents to the utmoſt perfection of which they are capable? To what end the difference of wealth and power between them, and any other two legged animal in the community? Why that difference maintained by this community, unleſs for the good of the whole? God never gives ſo unequally for the poſſeſſor's ſake; he deſigns this inequality as the root from which that ſubordination ſprings, which is to produce publick convenience and tranquility. Should not then theſe men, in whoſe power it is ſo happily placed to ſubdue their paſſions and refine their natures, avoid every occaſion of raiſing animoſity and diſguſt in the minds of their countrymen? Should it not be rather their glory to bear with their intemperance? This ſurely is more commendable, than to practiſe upon their weakneſs, wanton in their misfortunes, and inſtead of lightening, add to that burthen, which their ſuperiority muſt always lay upon a people whoſe labour and induſtry muſt ſupport it.

The Italian allies were never wanting in reſpect to Rome; even when brought to the loweſt extremity by Annibal, very few of them having joined the Carthaginians from choice; Capua, indeed, ſo naturally diſpoſed to vice, that ſhe outran her miſtreſs by at leaſt a century in the race of corruption.

tion. She it is true moſt cordially went over to the enemy; but in general, conſidering the great diſtreſſes of the commonwealth, the faith of the allies was wonderful; and tho' keeping pace with Rome in all her conqueſts, ſuch was their modeſty, as never to think themſelves on a level with that metropolis, until her citizens were fallen from virtue. They acknowledged her ſuperiority, till ſhe no longer knew how to govern herſelf; and when the ſtates of Italy had arrived at an equal perfection with the Romans in arts, in ſciences, in arms; when their manners were the ſame, their ideas of liberty as inlarged; when their language yielded not to that of Rome, except, perhaps, in ſmartneſs of pronunciation, or ſome quaint turn of phraſe; when their ſtrength of numbers to be employed in extending their conqueſts, or ſecuring thoſe already made, were by no means inferior; why ſhould they not be admitted to a ſhare of government? Why not enjoy the fruits of their toil and hazard? Why not be intruſted with the care of Italy, of their own liberties and properties? It is not from being born within the ſame narrow diſtrict that the identity of country ariſes? Country, in the great ſenſe of the word, admits no limitation from extent of territory, or number; none but want of contiguity, want of a ſimilitude of manners, intereſts, and objects of hap-

pineſs impoſe; for theſe are wants which may cauſe an unweildineſs in exerciſing the members of the political body; to feel for the ſafety, the proſperity, the glory and liberty of the ſame country, is what conſtitutes us countrymen and fellow citizens: the ſafety of the Roman name, its laws, its cuſtoms, wherever diſperſed by colony, or otherwiſe, was the care of every Italian at the period I now ſpeak of; and he who had theſe warmly at heart, was ſurely entitled to all the privileges of a Roman citizen. Had it been the evil fortune of Rome to have Carthage or Macedon to contend with, when they had ſo unreaſonably provoked their allies; what a weight would theſe warlike nations have thrown into the ſcale of the enemy; they would have felt as ſorely as Carthage did from the reſentment of their abſurd African neighbours. Happily for them no combination was able, at that time, to ſtand before that plan of power which their virtuous anceſtors had formed. The civilized part of the world, Aſia and Greece, were impatient of the yoke, but abject and enervated; nor had the northern nations entered into theſe defenſive aſſociations, which ſoon becoming offenſive terminated in the deſtruction of Roman tyranny. Europe was not at that time digeſted into ſtates, whoſe ſmaller policies bore a reſpect to the grand policy of the whole; it

did

did not ſhare one common military diſci-
pline as at preſent; nor was every country
watchful and attentive to each movement
of its neighbour; no compacts made for
checking the growth and proſperity of any
power which was hated or feared. Had that
been the caſe, the Roman ſenate would ne-
ver have given cauſe of complaint to their
ſubjects; on the contrary, it would have
grappled them cloſer by every endearment
of friendſhip and affection; and altho' loſt
to virtue and ſound policy, Rome would
have regarded its preſent immediate intereſt
and preſervation, and never diſobliged a
people, whom nature, by proximity and
other circumſtances, had deſtined to be a
part of themſelves.

There are no hiſtorical corollaries more
certain, than that all ſtates, who have ex-
tended their empire by colony or conqueſt,
and who are not diſpoſed to unite theſe
countries with themſelves after a ſufficient
preparation, muſt employ governors in theſe
countries whoſe every motion cannot be
cloſely watched; that as the principal coun-
try comes to loſe its virtues, an indifference,
at leaſt, about the intereſt of provinces muſt
enſue.

That theſe governors are ſeldom troubled
with any inſpection of their conduct, or any
after-reckoning; becauſe each leading man,
expecting one time or other to exerciſe the
ſame

ſame office, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt future puniſhment, will not eſtabliſh a precedent againſt himſelf by condemning another: thus emancipated from fear, each governor improves in the abuſe of power, until a ſyſtem of abuſe comes at length to be finiſhed and entire; and this is handed down as a rule of government to all who ſucceed to the office; they wiſh not to amend the laws of the province, nor the manners of the natives; they plunder the inhabitants under the cover of laws, to which by an artful deluſion they are brought to give their aſſent; for they enter into a compoſition with ſome of the principals of the country, who by a ſmooth addreſs, and the ſly arts of popularity, find means to glide into the eaſy confidence of the people; and theſe, in conſideration of a very trifling part of the ſpoil yielded to them by their haughty employer, undergo the drudgery of ſecuring the reſt to him.

Rome, the authority to which I ſhall ever recur in political reflections upon free ſtates, (for to trace out the mind of man in the hiſtory of arbitrary governments, where each individual acts under conſtraint, would be to delineate the movements of the human body, from obſervations made upon convulſionaries.) Rome furniſhes many inſtances of governors, prætors, proconſuls, who have ſcandalouſly pillaged the unhappy provinces com-

committed to their charge ; and it abounds with inſtances of a ſhameful failure of juſtice, when theſe delinquents have been impeached by the deputies * from the provinces ; it was upon the acquittal of Cotta Salinator, and Manlius Aquileius himſelf by the ſenate, and this in direct contradiction to the ſtrongeſt evidence of guilt, that the cognizance of the crimes of extortion, and others of a public nature, was transferred from the Patricians to the order of knights ; and tho' an inſtitution of the younger Gracchus, yet do we find Cicero † lamenting the revival of this part of the ſenatorial juriſdiction, by Sylla. In ſuch low eſtimation was the juſtice of a Roman Senate at that time ; and ſuch an intereſt had Verres eſtabliſhed by the force of gold, that if the zeal and great talent of Cicero had not ſo powerfully interfered, bribery, together with the proſtitute eloquence of Hortenſius, would

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* If the people of Sicily had been repreſented in a gegeneral aſſembly, it is probable that Verres would have eſcaped unpuniſhed, as his money might have procured him a majority in that aſſembly to ſanctify his conduct ; but unfortunately for him, each city had its aſſembly and a power of remonſtrating ſingly before a Roman Senate ; nor could ſuch a wealthy, uſeful town as Manchester be precluded from juſtice by the vote of a corrupt repreſentative of an old Sarum.

† Judiciorum levitate ordo quoque alius ad res judicandas requiritur. Oratio contra Cœcelium.

would have procured him his own friend Cœcilius for his accuſer, who was, without doubt, an accomplice in his villainies: ſo difficult is the taſk of keeping governors of provinces within the bounds of duty; ſo difficult to find a tribunal, whoſe integrity ſhall anſwer to ſo arduous a taſk! But when we conſider how much further than the particular ſufferings and diſcontents of the province, the certain bad effects of an unjuſt, rapacious conduct of the governors of provinces muſt be felt, our apprehenſions for the ſafety of the principal country takes the alarm; when we conſider that theſe governments afford the moſt plentiful ſources of luxury; that the means of gratifying the ambition of private men, nay, that ambition itſelf has for the moſt part its origin, in elevating and habituating any member of a community to a kind of temporary dominion, as viceroy or procunſul; when we reflect upon the number of bad ſubjects, of wicked doſtroyers, of public tranquillity or liberty, which has been made by a fatal exaltation of individuals in free ſtates; we cannot heſitate one moment, in determining to ſuppreſs every neceſſity of raiſing a ſubject to a condition, in which he might believe himſelf a king; and to cut him off from any opportunity of amaſſing ſuch ſuperior wealth, as may, by bribes or evil example, enable him to debauch the morals,

and

and deſtroy the love of liberty in his fellow-citizens. It was not until Cæſar had been ten years at the head of legions in Gaul, that he diſdained to bear a ſuperior in the common-wealth; he never would have plunged into a debt of 170,000l. had he not the hopes of repairing his ſhattered fortunes by the plunder of ſome rich province; and without the plunder of his province he never would be able to bring over the tribes to his intereſt, and influence all elections; ſo far removed as he was from the ſcene of intrigue; and if it was not for the unmerited honours heaped upon Pompey, the ſcandalous adulation of the Patricians, and the amazing power conferred upon him in the war of the Pirates, he too might have endured an equal in the common-wealth. In ſhort, my Lord, it requires, I am ſure, ſomething more than modern virtue to ſtand againſt the intoxication of power, to look with temperance upon great wealth, and not to apply that wealth, when occaſion ſhall preſent, in obtaining an unconſtitutional inſtuence in a free ſtate; it muſt then of conſequence be the duty of legiſlature, to reduce the means of acquiring diſproportionate wealth, or alarming power, which cannot be better effected, than by conſolidating, as far as circumſtances will admit, all the parts of an empire; this will ſupercede the neceſſity of many governors,

who, unable to reconcile themſelves to that face of equality which liberty requires, are wonderfully zealous to work its total deſtruction ; and this palpable advantage muſt follow, that when the parts of an empire have all the ſame legiſlative as well as executive government, the intercourſe between the head and the members will be more lively, and things will not paſs thro' the medium of corrupt, indolent, or ignorant viceroys, where truth meets with many delays, and is oftentimes totally obſtructed.

Contiguity of ſituation, or a ſtrong likeneſs of manners and cuſtoms, one of which nature alone can furniſh, the other attainable to by political induſtry and addreſs ; either of theſe are ſo powerfully eſſential to union, that without one or the other, it is not ſuppoſed that union can poſſibly take place ; and when union has taken place, it never ſhould be clogged by partial circumſtances, but be as entire as poſſible ; otherwiſe it will be a cauſe of weakneſs, and not of ſtrength. To apply theſe doctrines, firſt to the caſe of Scotland, from the acceſſion of James the ſixth of Scotland to the throne of England, until the ſolemn act of union. Scotland bore the ſame relation to England, that the ſtates of Italy did to Rome, before the ſocial war had produced a grant of the immunities of the city to theſe ſtates, and altho' the Britiſh union was not obtained by force

force as was that of Italy, yet the apprehenſions (during a bloody war with France, a pretender to the Britiſh crown in being, ſtrongly ſupported by the moſt enterprizing prince in Europe;) of thoſe Highlanders whom Godolphin had armed, did certainly determine that miniſter to bring about an union, and thereby remove all danger from that quarter; ſo that neither the Italian nor Britiſh union was the effect of mutual good will; excluſive of other motives, we ſee convenience, preſent expediency, and ſeveral other cauſes interfere: be that as it will, the event having taken place, all meaſures for producing that likeneſs and cordiality, which is the ſtrongeſt political band, ſhould be purſued by every honeſt man; and to this we are warmly admoniſhed by the example of Rome, where a want of affection between the new and old citizens threw the weight of the former into the ſcale of every corrupt party which aroſe in the ſtate, and attached them, not to their country, but to a Marius, a Cinna, or a Cæſar.

Had the ſame gothick ſpirit prevailed, which made wars and conqueſts the ſole end of taking up arms, then may it with injuſtice be ſaid (however parradoxical it ſhould appear) that Scotland, in a ſtate of ſeparation from England would be more uſeful than united as at preſent; for it would have kept

England alert, and attentive to war. The privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants of the marches, ſhewing how neceſſary their preſence to guard our frontier againſt this warlike neighbour. But England, ſecured from the north-eaſt by the declenſion of the Daniſh power; and having a barrier to the ſouth, in its poſſeſſions upon the Continent; would have ſunk into * indolence and effeminacy, had they no enemies within the iſland; and it is to their wars with the Scotch and Welch, that they owe the bravery and diſcipline of thoſe armies, which throw ſuch a luſtre upon the reigns of our Edwards and Henries, by their glorious atchivements in France. England, as well as all Europe, is very differently circumſtanced from what they were in the days of our plantagenets; the ſpirit of our age is truly commercial; the advantages thence ariſing, are found to be more real and ſubſtantial than the glare, the tumult of conqueſt and triumph. War, from being conſidered as an end, is happily dwindled into the means; and nations, when they conquer, do it rather with an eye to repriſal or diverſion, than with a deſign of retaining the conqueſt. Our great extent of coaſt,

* Is hoſtis velut natus ad continendam inter magnorum intervalla bellorum Romanis militarem diſciplinam erat: nec deerat unquam cum iis vel materia belli, vel cauſa; quia propter domeſticam inopiam vicinos agros incurſabant, Liv. lib. 39.

our

our luxuriant production of all the capital materials of trade, form a ſtronger commercial incentive than any of our neighbours can feel. If Scotland, then, inſtead of being united with us, ſtood connected with France by alliances founded in the early periods, upon reaſon and ſelf-preſervation, engaged by her intereſt to be ever ready in joining to reduce the ſtrength of her formidable neighbour, ſhe would be able moſt powerfully to divert our attention from manufactures, from exportations, and our navy; not having within herſelf many inducements to commerce, war would be her trade, as it is that of Germany ; and it is evident from the great ſucceſs of Pruſſia againſt the Houſe of Auſtria, how ſmall a number of inhabitants whoſe reigning paſſion is for war, may furniſh matter of heavy embarraſment to a very numerous and wealthy people. Yet, ſenſible as I am of the great advantage it muſt be, both to Scotland and England, that their union ſhould be cloſe, cordial, free from all jarrings and jealouſies as poſſible, ſtill muſt I ſpeak with freedom ſome thoughts which ariſe, not from want of a due regard to the merit of that country, but with a view to reduce pride, vanity, prejudice,or whatever elſe may obſtruct that ſalutary ſcheme of cloſe friendſhip, which is indiſputably the intereſt of the whole iſland—Firſt of all, I am far from conſidering that people, however

ever reſpectable the individuals may be for their prudence and perſonal bravery, in ſo principal a view as their own writers are pleaſed to do, and amongſt the reſt, the author of an extraordinary paper, dated at Edinburgh. Writers of the polemical claſs, feel a higher glow of imagination than can be uniformly conſiſtent with ſtrict truth; paſſion and party are apt to raiſe their colourings ſomewhat higher than any thing we behold in nature. Scotland, from its contracted territory, poverty of ſoil, and ſmall number of inhabitants, was ever under the neceſſity of reſorting to a foreign alliance, in order to procure to themſelves, as a people, any degree of conſequence: as an enemy, they muſt be looked upon, therefore, in a ſecondary light, they are not in the ſame rank with the Gaul and Carthaginian, but to the Samnite, may they with great juſtice be compared. Their alliances with Ireland, enabled them to diſturb the ancient South Britons, and alarm the Romans when ſettled in this iſland. But, it is well known, that ſince the coming in of our Saxon anceſtors, with the trifling number of 1600 men, to the aid of Vortigern, againſt the Picts, the Northern Britons*, never preſumed to do more

* As to my purpoſe, it is quite indifferent whether the preſent Scotch, are a mix'd breed of Picts and Scotch, or whether the Picts were totally eradicated, ſince both were equally

more than peep into England, until the Norman conqueſt; when the Engliſh, who were ſtripped of their eſtates by William the firſt, carried their diſcontents into Scotland, and and encouraged that people to reaſſume their diſorderly inroads into Northumberland. Our poſſeſſions upon the continent, fixed a kind of natural enemy in the king of France, to whom the Scotch very politically attached themſelves, and drew from that ſource a conſideration, to which they could not otherwiſe poſſibly attain; and when we conſider the Engliſh as a people compounded of Saxons and of Normans, deſcended on one ſide from nations who had deſtroyed the moſt powerful empire the world ever beheld, whoſe name alone was ſufficient to retain the Pict within bounds; and who ſo bravely withſtood the Daniſh force, not the attacks of roving pirates, as is vulgarly ſuppoſed, but a ſteady, well conducted, invaſive war, ſupported by the maritime powers who inhabited the northern coaſt of Europe, from the mouth of the Elbe, and ſo along both ſhores of the Baltick; when we view them deſcended, on the other ſide, from Nor-

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equally terrified by the Saxon power; during ſome of the diſtractions of the heptarchy, they ſometimes ventured into Northumberland; and once leaguing with the South Britains, under their king Aidan, they were for a moment ſucceſsful againſt Ceaulin king of Weſſex.

mans,

mans, the conquerors of the fineſt province in France, and eſtabliſhing kingdoms, at their will, through Europe; when we conſider themſelves the poſterity of theſe celebrated nations, as the conquerors of all France, and arbiters of Europe, abſurd and ridiculous muſt be that degree of vanity, which aſſumes any pretenſions of ſuperiority, in valour, or any other ſpecies of merit, over ſuch a people.

But as to notions of civil liberty, for which that writer appears ſo much to have valued them, it is in that point, I think them principally defective: love of liberty does not entirely conſiſt in reſolving to maintain independency of a foreign power, there are many other eſſentials to a true love of liberty; becauſe, a nation may be very free from any influence from abroad, and yet totally enſlaved at home; the lords and leading men of ſuch nation, may labour to guard their country againſt ſtrangers, with no other deſign, but that of ſecuring the benefit of its vaſſalage to themſelves; ſo that publick ſpirit, may poſſibly have no concern whatſoever in any of their actions; and really, if any thing can ſink the Scottiſh nation ſo low, as inaptitude for a compleat junction with England, it is the little reliſh they have ever ſhewn for the true bleſſings of liberty. He who would infer the contrary, from the reſiſtance ſo often given to

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their kings, would make the moſt fallacious inference in the world; for many oppoſitions to kings, have proceeded from a partiality to the domination of the heads of clans, the worſt ſpecies of ſlavery, and not from any deſire of being free. Scotland has deſtroyed many of its kings, it is granted, but not with an eye to promote the cauſe of liberty; let it appear, that the Scottiſh inſurrection had ever any ſuch tendency; that they ever attempted to diſcharge, from the minds of the people, their ſlaviſh prejudices, or ſtupid adoration of their lairds, that they ever wiſhed the bleſſing of liberty ſhould extend to every individual who deſerved it; in ſhort, that previous to the union, they ever ſeriouſly thought of deſtroying their heritable juriſdictions; let theſe appear, and Scotland's claim to a love of liberty, ſhall, with her many other well-grounded claims to merit, be moſt willingly admitted.

Reaſons may be drawn from the original formation of the Scottiſh government, why they have been particularly ſlow in their approaches to liberty; but ſome obſervations upon government in general, and upon the difference between the old and more modern Celtick forms in particular, muſt neceſſarily be promiſed. The end of ſocial aſſociation, is the preſervation of thoſe individuals who compoſe it; in a ſtate of nature, the preſervation of ſingle ſelf is the

ſole object; no regard to numbers or country, is ſuppoſed to countervail this firſt conſideration; we, in that ſtate, owe nothing to numbers or country, and nothing will we pay. But from the moment that a community is eſtabliſhed, to ſelf-defence, as a primary object*, that of a nation or aggragate of individuals is ſubſtituted; and it is not from the good of any particular, but from the good of the whole, that the rule of action muſt ariſe. In this ſtate of ſociety, the idea of preſervation, from being more extended, becomes more complicated and difficult; and to thoſe who do not ſeriouſly attend to the ends of government, and the ſubſtitution of that general good which has taken place, to the particular good which before prevailed; ſingle ſelf-preſervation, is ever preſſing upon their minds; and caſes frequently ariſe, where partiality to ſelf, and inattention to publick order and convenience, hinder us from acquieſcing, but with reluctance and diſſatisfaction, under the moſt wholeſome regulations. In general, the reaſonableneſs of giving up our private opinion, though we ſhould ſuſtain a damage, is pretty apparent; but ſome particular incidents there muſt be, where it is not ſo apparent; for inſtance, where the dignity of the executive

* For though ſelf-preſervation is the firſt law of nature, it is not ſo of ſociety.

power

power of a ſtate, ſeems not to conſiſt with the civil liberty of the ſubject; here the wiſdom and penetration of the expounders of law is called forth; here the arduous taſk of ſecuring a part from ſuffering, without endangering the whole; and the important queſtion comes into agitation; Whether the luxuriancies of liberty, wild and beautiful as they appear, but often pernicious to the fruit of good government, ſhall be lopped and kept under? Or whether too great a hazard of deſtroying the ſtock, may not enſue the operation, and ſome abuſes of liberty be more prudently ſubmitted to, than meaſures taken, by which its entire ruin, even by the moſt remote poſſibility, may be incurred? This laſt, is certainly the ſpirit of our law, and it places liberty amongſt thoſe things which it is moſt inclined to favour, looking upon it with a fond parental eye, as that darling child, to whoſe advantage every preſumption is admitted, every conſtruction made, rather than ſee it ſo culpable, as to merit a correction which may by any means injure its beloved frame. That form therefore of government, which provides moſt effectually for the liberty of the individual, without weakening the ſtrength of the magiſtrate; that form which ſecures the greateſt number, or proportion, of its ſubjects againſt internal oppreſſion, as well as external violence, is undoubtedly the beſt, be-

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cauſe it eſtabliſhes order and ſafety, the great ends for which we enter into a ſtate of ſociety, at the expence of a very moderate ſhare of that liberty, which we enjoy in a ſtate of nature; and confers great ſocial advantages, while it deprives us of very few natural ones. No liberty whatſoever can compenſate the want of ſecurity in a ſtate of nature; the hourly apprehenſions of ſuperior force; the inquïetudes, which are the perpetual attendants upon fear; defence muſt be ſmall, becauſe every man reſts his reſervation upon his own powers; hence, we behold ſavages always improving their bodily ſtrength, increaſing their agility, acquiring the greateſt poſſible degree of ſwiftneſs, and practiſing patience under labour and fatigue; inſomuch, that the American Aborigines, are ſaid almoſt to fly over continents, lie whole nights in ſnow, and perform ſuch feats as ſeem almoſt incredible; relying on ſingle ſelf for their preſervation. With regard to parental government, this, as it is extremely defective in point of defence, however mild and gentle it may be, from the affectionate relation between the governor and governed, being his offspring, ſo is it little to my preſent purpoſe; I ſhall, therefore, paſs to thoſe Celtic forms, which furniſh the original materials of all the European conſtitutions. There are diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory, two grand emigrations of thoſe northern

northern people, whom all writers agree to be Celtic; and each emigration made an attack upon the Roman empire: in the firſt, they were at length repulſed; in the latter, they ſucceeded, and laid the foundation of all the European kingdoms as above. The firſt adventurers, obliged at length to abandon Italy, ſpread themſelves over Gaul, the northern parts of Spain, Britain, and very probably made ſome ſettlements in Ireland. They left their mother country poſſeſſed with the ſame ſpirit of conqueſt, which actuated the Goths, Vandals, Alans, &c. and the neceſſity of acquiring a ſettlement, (there being no room, as is ſuppoſed, for them at home) eſtabliſhed a ſtrict diſcipline and due ſubordination; a reſpect to one ſuperior, kept every ſmall chief to his duty, and prevented thoſe broils and diſſentions, which ever ſince the ſiege of Troy, have retarded the progreſs of great enterprizes, where they have been ſuffered to interfere. But, my Lord, why the Goths, Vandals, &c. had the good fortune to eſtabliſh more excellent, and for that reaſon, more permanent governments, than the conquerors of the more early period, may appear from a conſideration of the great difference in the circumſtances of the invaded nations at the different periods. The laſt emigrants fell upon the ſouth of Europe, at a time when the Roman laws, inſtitutions, arts and ſciences,

ces, had univerſally taken place ; and altho' they conquered, yet, had they much to apprehend from a people who were in poſſeſſion of that diſcipline, which had ſubdued the world. In ſome countries, their conqueſts were ſo imperfect, that they were conſtrained to a compoſition with the inhabitants, and to take but part of their lands, and part of their ſlaves ; they were, for this reaſon, obliged to have a watchful eye upon enemies ſo reſpectable, and adhere to thoſe principles of policy, which they brought from their own country. Hence, thoſe powerful mixed monarchies which we have ſince beheld in Europe ; ſome few flouriſhing and vigorous, at the time others languid, declining, and ſcarce diſcoverable to be of the Gothick kind. The more early Celtes, met with a different reception when they marched to the ſouthward ; for Roman virtue having forced them over the Alps, they fell upon nations who afforded them an eaſy conqueſt ; and for whom, the facility of the conqueſt, muſt inſpire them with contempt ; they ſoon became eaſy, indolent, and ſecure ; loſt ſight of their ancient inſtitutions ; no regard to a general intereſt ; each petty leader purſuing a ſelfiſh, narrow plan ; and hence the imperfection of theſe governments, which Cæſar and Tacitus deſcribe, both in Gaul and Britain. Nations, whoſe want of political cement, rather than of weight or numbers,

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was the cauſe why they were immediately overturned by the Roman armies; whom, even their enemies allow to have been brave, but divided into ſuch little ſtates, that theſe diviſions, and the want of a more comprehenſive band of union, did certainly produce their ruin. There can be no doubt, but the Scotch government is derived from the Celtick confined fountain, and has drawn from thence, the many imperfections with which it abounds; their leaders of clans, the unnatural diſtinction between people of one ſept, from thoſe of another, yet both living in the ſame country; the cruel animoſity between theſe different ſepts; (ſo cruel, that inſtances have appeared, where but one man alone, out of a name conſiſting of 2000, has ſurvived the rage of the adverſe clan, and all this to gratify the paltry ambition of the head of a family) Theſe, I ſay, proclaim the greateſt want of that ſound policy, and good ſenſe, which conſults the quiet, the happineſs, but above all, the external defence of the individuals committed to its charge. I, my Lord, wiſh from my heart, becauſe I think it the advantage of human nature, that no diſtinction ſubſiſted, if poſſible, between the nations of the earth; but from a country which is united to ours, I am impatient to ſee every diſſimilitude removed, which may obſtruct our end. Impatient to ſee the Scottiſh laws approach nearer to the ſpirit of our

laws,

laws, and to that ſpirit which their anceſtors brought from Scandinavia, but afterwards ſuffered to evaporate, as I obſerved before. I wiſh to ſee our jury law, and whatever laws have any relation to the liberty and property of the ſubject, better reliſhed by our neighbours; and our common law, enjoy that preference which it deſerves, to the arbitrary edicts of Roman tyrants: then ſhould we ſee miniſters of that nation free from any bias to arbitrary power; and judges, who ſcorning to be tools of deſpotiſm, in juſtice, temper and popularity, ſhould emulate an Holt or a Camden.

As I write without any deſign of lowering that brave and prudent people in the eſtimation of their neighbours, and my ſtructure being on the government, and not the individuals, I hope I ſhall ſtand acquitted of any view, but that of reducing their prejudices in favour of any ſyſtems, which may prevent that aſſimilation with England, for which I have contended. Let Scotland diſcern, acknowledge and imitate, where England is confeſſedly her ſuperior; it derogates not from the merit of any ſingle perſon of the nation, to make the conceſſion, for it was time, circumſtance, ſituation, which have conferred the ſuperiority: let England value not itſelf too much upon this accidental ſuperiority; nor deſpiſe their northern fellow ſubjects, for being inferior as a people,

people, whilſt as individuals, they are inconteſtably their equals; and, let them conſider, that the leſſer merit they allow the Scotch, the more it is the buſineſs of the Scotch, as a brave and ſpirited nation, to claim and inſiſt upon.

Ireland, my Lord, from the circumſtance of ſeparation from Great-Britain, ſeems at firſt view, to want that contiguity, which is, with juſtice, placed amongſt the eſſentials of union; but Ireland has every other eſſential, and though not actually joined to this iſland, is ſo virtually and in effect; it enjoys very near the ſame climate, and the genius of its inhabitants bear as near a reſemblance to that of the natives of this country, as the confuſed, undefinable form of government under which they have lived, will admit. But what ſhould induce us moſt powerfully of all to beſtow upon it that attention which union alone can create, is, that Ireland, in the poſſeſſion of ſome neighbouring powers, would cauſe a diſadvantage of double its own intrinſick poſitive value to us; the human ſpecies has there a moſt ſtrong tendency to multiplication; the men are brave, hardy and robuſt; the ſoil fruitful to an uncommon degree; and its harbours commodious, in every ſenſe of the word. Conceive then, my Lord, the fatal conſequence of ſo injudicious a treatment of that country, as abſolutely loſe all the benefits which may ariſe

from it, of ſlackening the duty and love it is diſpoſed to entertain for England. Conceive, my Lord, ſuch a country in the poſſeſſion of an enterprizing French or Spaniſh monarch, who would behold his intereſt in ſtrengthening, in cheriſhing, and laying it as a continual check upon Great-Britain; how much of our regards muſt be diverted from other concerns, by ſo reſpectable a neighbourhood; when theſe are conſidered, with the great additional ſtrength which that country muſt bring to our own, as a part of one well proportioned body; the objection of the want of contiguity immediately vaniſhes, and we ſee Ireland joined to Great-Britain by a firm political iſthmus.

From the cloſeſt inſpection I have been able to make into human nature, ſuch as it appears in peruſing the hiſtory of nations, or in obſerving the actions of cotemporary individuals (I ſpeak of man, modified as he is by the laws, and education of the particular ſociety, of which he is a member, not as he comes out of the hands of a beneficent Creator.) It is very diſcoverable, that he is an animal, in whom love * of ſelf does ſo ſtrongly predominate, as to make it very neceſſary,

* My opinion will not appear morally heterodox, being no more than that man is created with the proper ſize of ſelf-love, which naturally ſeeks his preſervation, but that bad example, bad education, and the artificial neceſſities

ceſſary, that this ungenerous principle be counteracted by ſome power, which ſhould have alſo this ſame ſelf-love for its ſource. Man, were it not for the dread of law, would think himſelf very excuſable in ſeizing upon more of the goods of this world, than by the preſent ſocial methods of acquiring property, ſhould come to his ſhare; the fear of puniſhment conſtantly interpoſes, and moderation, by degrees, becomes habitual. In communities, then, man finds a check upon his deſires in the laws, but, when we enlarge our view to the whole world, as a great aggregate of various communities; each community of which, may be compared to an individual; where are we to look for the means of controuling, of bounding, the combined paſſions of the multitudes which form each community? How produce moderation? How curb that ambition in the tyrants of thoſe communities, which has ſo frequently deſolated the human ſpecies? If we, perchance, behold national moderation from peculiar form of government, or what other cauſe ſoever, prevail in one country, ſo far from being its ſecurity, that country is thereby expoſed to the invaſion of ſome perfidious neighbour; the law of nations is re-

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neceſſities in a ſtate of ſociety, blow it up to an enormous bulk, which would be pernicious, did not the laws of that ſociety ſuppreſs, what its bad education had given riſe to.

curred to, but in vain; a municipal law, the magiſtrate can execute; but to put the law of nations in force, againſt an unruly ſtate, the concurrence of many powers is neceſſary; this may be prevented by too ſtrict a regard to private intereſt, at leaſt it may be delayed; during that delay towns are deſtroyed, provinces ſeized; the aggreſſing power takes ſuch a hold, as may ſupport him through a ten years war; at the end of which, want of union, want of honeſty, in ſome or all of theſe powers, who are ſolemnly confederated to chaſtize him, he has the good fortune to eſcape with impunity the correction: therefore, which ſhould follow a breach of the law of nations, is not ſufficiently certain to deter the wicked and the ambitious in the preſent ſyſtem of Europe. The plan, ſaid to have been levied by Henry the Great of France, was laudable in deſign, but impoſſible, I think, in execution; he intended to bring the joint powers of Europe, who ſeem to have intereſts the moſt oppoſite, as near as poſſible to an equality; that any of thoſe nations who conſtituted theſe two general diviſions, may receive protection from their own party; when thoſe on the other ſide, endeavoured to oppreſs them; but neither he nor any elſe could aſcertain, whoſe intereſts were to be the claſhing ones. It was not thoſe of religion, for we ſee the Proteſtant religion, every regard to honour, gratitude,

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and its own real advantage, ſacrificed by a once conſiderable maritime power, to a narrow, private ſcheme of commercial, ſelfiſh politicks. Auſtria and Bourbon were not to be the contending family intereſts, for we now find them moſt cloſely, and as we are pleaſed to call it, moſt unnaturally connected. In matters, therefore, ſo fluctuaing, it was impoſſible to foreſee where, or between whom the contention ſhould be. If Henry could have enſured one particular ſtate, powerful, and yet honeſt enough always to afford ſuccour to the injured, then would he have ſucceeded. Is not the ban of the empire often unjuſtly arrayed? And is it not as often laugh'd at by thoſe who are able to oppoſe it? I fear, my Lord, that human ſyſtems are not ſo capable of perfection, as we, from our partiality to the framers, are inclined to believe them; but eſpecially when the means of execution are ſo complicated, as in the preſent caſe; and that, therefore, the moſt ſimple expedient, for preſerving as general quiet, as the paſſions and frailties of men can poſſibly admit, will be, for every ſtate to endeavour at ſtrengthening itſelf, which will make neighbouring powers, for their own ſakes, and the love they entertain for themſelves, beware of violating the law of nations; fear of each other, will prevent repeated hoſtilities, prejudices, which we obſerve to ſubſiſt moſt ſtrongly between

thoſe who are frequently at war with each other, will languiſh and die away, and neighbouring countries, inſtead of hating, and ſeeking each others miſery, will love and ſtudy to promote their mutual happineſs; ſo will fear, and an apprehenſion of offending by ſlow, imperceptible degrees, bring a people firſt to bear with its neighbour, then to eſteem, and perhaps, in the end, to treat it with cordiality and affection.

I, therefore, muſt applaud the wiſdom of thoſe, who endeavour to multiply virtuous induſtrious inhabitants, upon ſuch a part of the earth's ſurface, as may be ſufficiently extenſive to form a nation powerful and reſpectable, equal to the defence of itſelf againſt injury, and able to ſuccour a diſtreſſed neighbour, in caſe of any violence, which may put the common ſafety in danger: but ſhould equity and moderation be the acknowledged characteriſticks of that nation; ſhould all the materials for ſuch a work be, as it were, already provided by the hand of Providence, and nothing wanting but a proper political combination of them; it is, doubtleſs, under a double obligation of ſtrengthening itſelf, becauſe human nature, in general, is deeply intereſted in the ſafety, in the influence and power of ſuch a people; the ſmall territory which may be drawn into ſuch a community, cannot, with any juſtice, complain of being ſtripped of their deſpica-

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ble pretenſions to independency; when, in reality, they are freed from the tyranny of ſome proud beggarly duke or count, from the oppreſſion of ſome paultry republick, and made members of a ſtate, where every man's rights are ſecured; of a ſtate, which is able to maintain real independency; nor can any thing be more evident, than its being for the intereſt of all Europe, that no petty ſovereignty whatſoever did exiſt; a temptation to every ambitious neighbour, a cauſe of frequent diſturbance, and a kind of conſtraint upon thoſe, who are peaceably diſpoſed to live in perpetual alarms*.

The provinces of France afford a ſtrong example, how diſtracted, how miſerable that country has been, from the death of Charlemagne until Richlieu's adminiſtration, occaſioned by the power and influence of the great vaſſals of the crown? Was Provence ſo happy under her counts; Normandy, Burgundy, Guienne or Britainy, under their Dukes, as they have been ſince the monarchy was formed? What ſubſtantial ſatisfaction, could the conſideration of being ruled by one of their own country; the vanity and parade of a petty court, whoſe retainers devoured the people; afford for the miſeries to which the follies and injuſtice of their maſters did every

* Quia inter impotentes et validos falſo quieſcas. Tacit. de Mor. Ger.

day

day expoſe them? And how can the French, with any juſtice, ſay they have loſt their liberties, becauſe their peers have loſt a dangerous power? And are a people free, becauſe the great lords are able, upon any trifling occaſion, to riſe up in rebellion againſt their king? I rather believe their ſlavery more deſperate and deplorable. The French, probably, never underſtood what real liberty is; for he, who would reſtrain the enjoyment of it to any particular order of men, and not ſuffer its bleſſings to extend through all the virtuous members of the community, miſtakes the import of the word. I muſt, therefore, approve the political wiſdom of the French, for taking in thoſe provinces, which ſeem formed by nature to coincide with their monarchy; the ſameneſs of language, of manners, of cuſtoms, encouraging, and facilitating their deſigns; and do think, the accompliſhment was for the general happineſs of thoſe provinces, without enquiring what right one nation has to make another happy againſt its will. But, when we behold the miniſters or tyrants of France, ſo iniquitouſly abuſing their great increaſe of power, by extending their conqueſts and influence beyond the limits which nature ſeemed to preſcribe; and inſtead of applying that power to ſtrengthen and ſecure the quiet of Europe, exerting it on the contrary, in diſturbing and deſtroying it: we then, indeed,

indeed, muſt lament their greatneſs, and expreſs our ſorrow for that want of rational liberty, and pure religion, which would, undoubtedly, have produced equity and moderation in the councils of that great monarchy.

The general expediency indeed, neceſſity of compact, and powerful ſocial aſſociations, being admitted, the union of Ireland with Great-Britain appears eaſy and natural, liable to no jealouſies of neighbouring ſtates, becauſe, the ſovereignty of Great-Britain over that iſland is univerſally allowed abroad; and that we have always been of that opinion at home, appears, from having conſtantly exerciſed it, where the object has been of ſuch moment, as to affect the intereſt of both kingdoms; ſuch as ſuperintending their legiſlature, and taking from their peers a dernier judicial power, leſt there ſhould be a failure of juſtice, and depopulation enſue in any part of his Majeſty's dominions; and that the leading men of that iſland are ſenſible of that dependancy is clear, from their ſubmitting, the very moment it ſeems to anſwer their own private intereſts, and ſmall ambition, after having bluſhed, perhaps, for one ſhort ſeſſion, and ſorely calumniated ſome poor, timid, unpopular ſecretary of their Lord Lieutenant. Nothing is, therefore, more ſincerely deſired, than that England ſhould look narrowly into

the affairs of that country; that it ſhould conſider them, in ſome reſpect, as their own affairs, and take the proper ſteps for bringing the people to a temper for mixing with themſelves, which having left them ſo much in their own management, has hitherto prevented; nor is it ſurprizing, that the gentlemen who conſtitute the two legiſlative branches of that kingdom, ſhould be incapable of moulding their countrymen to the form we require; their ſcheme of government, and political ideas, are contracted, confined to raiſing ſuch ſupplies as their governors ſhall demand, eſtabliſhing turnpikes, and enacting laws againſt the growth of Popery; debates upon the general intereſts of Europe, upon the improvements of commerce, the prerogative of the crown, or the rights and liberties of the people, are never heard within their walls — they never aſpired to the bleſſings of an habeas corpus act, the ſtrongeſt proof how ſmall their deſire of liberty; carrying with it, at the ſame time, the implied conſciouſneſs of how little they deſerve it: then, can it be expected from thoſe, to inſpire the Iriſh with ſentiments, which may entitle them to unite with the freeſt, wiſeſt, and moſt powerful people in Europe? The landed property of Ireland is, at this time, veſted in the deſcendants of Engliſh or Scotch for the moſt part, or held under titles derived from them; the adventurers of Elizabeth,

beth, and thoſe of the long parliament, being, in truth, the conquerors * of that kingdom, and the purchaſers of thoſe eſtates which their poſterity now enjoy. The gentlemen of that nation, are therefore ſprung from a warlike anceſtry, whoſe blood and t—— were expended in ſubduing, and endeavouring to civilize that country which they now poſſeſs; and although both from right and convenience, Ireland is, and ought to be ſubordinate to England, yet, has an Iriſh individual as indiſputable a right to liberty and property, as an Engliſhman; for why ſhould not the grandſon or great grandſon of an Engliſhman, who left his native country to fight for the glory and advantage of England, and by his valour and perſeverance eſtabliſhed a property for himſelf and family, be looked upon as inferior to the grandſon or great grandſon of an Engliſhman, who choſe to remain at home? No, my Lord, the ſuperiority is of the aggregate, not of the individual; it is admitted in one caſe, becauſe it is for the good of the whole; it is rejected in the other caſe, becauſe it is quite unneceſſary; and all the gentlemen of Ire-

* As for the conquerors of the more early periods; their deſcendants were ſoon degenerate, ſo attached to the Iriſh manners, ſo eſtranged from thoſe of their Engliſh anceſtry, that there was a neceſſity of conquering them with the old Iriſh, particularly as they were infected with the ſame prejudices againſt the reformation.

land have the merit of being deſcended from a brave and free anceſtry. I muſt declare, that no people, to whom ſo many advantages have been preſented by circumſtances moſt favourable, did ever ſo little avail themſelves of them. England offers to their acceptance, the moſt excellent code of laws that was ever framed by any nation; the mildeſt and moſt rational religion; the ſoundeſt maxims of commerce, and the beſt inſtructions for the improvement of manufactures: it has afforded them a wholeſome example of a ſtrict execution of the laws, and moſt of theſe proffered kindneſſes. It is as certain, that the Iriſh reject ſuch laws as relate to inheritance, being originally interwoven with our military feudal tenures, which took place upon the firſt Engliſh ſettlement in the iſland, but ſubject to the 12th of Charles the Second, are the ſame as in England; ſo are thoſe which relate to perſonal property; the inſtitutions which have for their object the manners and principles of the people, independent of religion, are alſo Engliſh, but theſe lie dead and unexecuted; thoſe which relate to religion, are moſtly enacted by themſelves, and are abſurd, unnatural, and ſhocking to humanity, I mean the modern Popery laws, which tend to the diſcouragement of that ſect by forfeiture of property; they are dictated by a ſpirit of uncharitableneſs, which never entered

tered into the laws of England, for theſe are remarkable for their lenity and preciſion, dictated by a ſpirit, which inſtead of diffuſing benevolence amongſt the members of a community, deſtroys all confidence between man and man, and blaſts every bud of honour and virtue; theſe are executed by bills of diſcovery, where breach of faith between neighbours, breach of honour between gentlemen, diſſolution of the ties of blood between relations, are rewarded with the property of the perſon againſt whom the bill is brought. In England, the nature of a penal law is underſtood, and it is a rule that the words of it, are neither to be extended or reſtricted by conſtruction; the framers of theſe laws, which have for their object actions not criminal in their own nature, or as the lawyers ſay, mala in ſe, but only made criminal as they interfere with the policy of the ſtate, enumerate the ſeveral caſes of tranſgreſſion, awaken and collect the ſubjects attention, point it to the thing which is to be avoided, and leave it not in the power of a judge to ſay, that this, or that, was intended by the ſtatute, although not particularly expreſſed; nor ſhall the liberty of any man be taken a way by implication in matters which are morally indifferent. But the Popery laws of Ireland are monſters, ſome call them penal, others remedial, and all admit, that judges can give them a conſtruction,

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by which their determinations may be at leaſt arbitrary, and the people of that religion left in the greateſt confuſion and uncertainty. Your Lordſhip ſees how great an enemy to reformation of every kind, how radically deſtructive of all virtue, both publick and private, muſt be that body of laws, which lets looſe, nay, encourages one part of his Majeſty's ſubjects to prey upon the other; how ſhould union or brotherly love ſubſiſt, where legiſlature is perpetually ſounding the trumpet of diſcord? How void of ſound policy theſe inſtitutions, which deſtroy the morals of a people under colour of reforming the religion? That branch of the Popery laws which are tranſcribed from the Engliſh code, are conceived in a ſpirit of ſimplicity and good ſenſe; avarice was not the blemiſh of the age which produced them; they do not ſtrip the unfortunate, miſguided, innocent people of their properties, becauſe drawn into errors by prieſts; connived at by magiſtrates, whoſe duty it is to reſtrain their religious doctrines and diſcipline; they may be executed by juſtices of the peace; no lawyers neceſſary, no bills of diſcovery, no profits immediately ariſing to any particular individual, by the execution of theſe laws; it is religion and the conſtitution which are to receive the advantage, for which reaſon they are ſeldom put in force; and ſince the Popiſh religion is detrimental to the kingdom, the rigorous

rigorous meaſures neceſſary for its extirpation ſhould be felt, by thoſe who cauſe the deluſion, not by the unfortunate deluded; it is the moutebank, vagabond, impoſtor, who ſhould be puniſhed, and not the ſimple, credulous people; ſo that inſtead of laws which deſtroy all confidence, and produce rancour and malevolence between fellow-ſubjects, the wicked, ſelf-intereſted propagators, the ſly ſmuglers of the religion into that unfortunate kingdom, ſhould be the object of our indignation. England perfected her reformation by expelling Popiſh prieſts, ſo did the northern ſtates, but Ireland expects, by a ſcandalous perſecution, to compel a bigotted multitude to reform itſelf, and drive out a ſet of men who have now gained a firm eſtabliſhment in their affections and eſteem, and who, I venture to ſay, have a greater aſcendant over their hearts and conſciences, than the moſt powerful head of a ſept could poſſibly enjoy: nor can I ſee, how the expulſion of prieſts could fail of ſucceſs in Ireland; the Romiſh ſuperſtition is ſo contrary to common ſenſe, to chriſtian charity, to the general intereſts of the human ſpecies, that the cloſeſt application to the mind, in its circumſtances of early, indeed almoſt infantine weakneſs, is neceſſary to give it root there, the greateſt aſſiduity is required to rear it, but once confirmed, like every other noxious weed, is with great difficulty deſtroyed; we, there-

therefore, perceive theſe dangerous miſſionaries, initiating their youth as early as poſſible in their ſenſeleſs myſteries, well knowing, that an underſtanding, ſtrengthened by reaſon, muſt ſtart at their abſurdities, and reject them with diſdain; ſo that if the laws were executed, which would remove theſe men from the opportunity of practiſing upon the pliant faith of young people; free and untainted, they would readily embrace a religion founded on reaſon and univerſal charity; nor can theſe Romiſh eccleſiaſticks complain of perſecution, having felt no effect of the laws enacted againſt them, almoſt for an age; they ſee and ſtudy thoſe laws againſt the exerciſe of Papal juriſdiction, and yet, ſuch is their matchleſs effrontery, as to hold them at conſtant defiance; they are almoſt to a man, ill-bred, low-born wretches, but ever pretending to the gentleman, becauſe deſcended from ſervants and retainers in reſpectable families, they have impudently aſſumed their names; their learning amounts to little more than a baſe unclaſſical ſmattering in the Latin tongue, which enables them to blunder over their maſſes, the rudiments received under an Iriſh hedge, and farther cultivated at ſome ſtarved French ſeminary, in return for which ſcanty charity of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, they import into the dominions of his enemy, the ſeeds of rebellion, and a total abhorrence

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from the free ſpirit of the Engliſh laws and government. What juſt cauſe of clamour could exiſt, if his Majeſty appointed a ſubſiſtence in a foreign country, barely ſufficient to keep them from labour during their lives, ſubject to this condition, that they never *return to a kingdom where* it is moſt certain *they cannot live without* tampering with *conſciences?* This is a mild expedient for getting rid of a ſect, which, for two centuries, has checkt the progreſs of all improvement, and frequently involved that iſland in wars and tumults, by invariably adhering to the ſide of ſuperſtition and tyranny; and I moſt heartily wiſh to ſee this method ſubſtituted to the puniſhment of the innocent, and to the infliction of ſeverities upon the many, when proper caſtigation of a few would better anſwer the purpoſe; but I fear the landed intereſt of Ireland do not diſapprove a policy, which keeps the poſterity of the men whoſe forfeited eſtates they enjoy, in a ſtate of miſery and diſtraction, and that, too poignant a remembrance of the cruelties of the Iriſh Papiſts to their anceſtors, inclines them rather to oppreſs and enſlave the deſcendants of that people, than endeavour ſeriouſly to reform, mix with them in brotherly love, and be joined as fellow-ſubjects by the ties of ſocial affection.

I well know, that the danger of Popery, has been treated as a bugbear by ſeveral on

this ſide the water, eſpecially by men, whoſe bias to arbitrary principles of government, prevents their ſeeing any danger in a ſect, whoſe political opinions are the ſame with their own; they feel not the inconveniencies that attend it, and are ignorant of the frightful effects of that ſuperſtition, both here and in Ireland; their information not exceeding ſome few facts which have happened in their own time, ſtands totally unaided, not only by books, but even tradition from their parents; they conſider the toaſting of memories by the Iriſh Proteſtants, as having a tendency to divide the people, and keep ancient animoſities ſtill alive; and it is certain, that a late high mettled ſecretary to a Lord Lieutenant, had the impudence to pronounce a declamation to that purpoſe in the Houſe of Commons of that kingdom, penned, as it is ſuppoſed, by a remarkable ſtile mimick, from whom that ſuborator ſeems to have received his impreſſions of Iriſh affairs, and indeed, of politicks in general; had he delivered his indirect ſarcaſms upon the memory of William the Third, as the opinion of himſelf or his inſtructor; no man who had the leaſt knowledge of either, would have felt any ſurprize; but an inſinuation of its being the ſenſe of the people of England, that the Iriſh ſhould forget the obligations they owe to the glorious revolution, that they ſhould omit any thing which may preſerve it freſh in their memories,

memories, that they ſhould loſe recollection of what their anceſtors ſuffered by Popery, from the time of Deſmond's rebellion to the capitulation of Limerick, or loſe ſight of any meaſures which humanity will admit, of diſabling Popery, from making any attempts for the future, was, doubtleſs, the higheſt degree of preſumption, that any declaimer ever arrived at: England, on the contrary, is well apprized of the undying rancour of that religion, and the almoſt irreſiſtable diſſimulation of its chiefs; how cooly and ſyſtematically they proceed in bringing about their ends, how unrelenting when poſſeſſed of any power over their adverſaries; that the intereſts of Proteſtaniſm are neither ſo cloſely, nor uniformly purſued; that its profeſſors are divided by not acting under one common head; not agreeing entirely either as to doctrine or diſcipline; in ſhort, that they are too indifferent about a religion, which having reaſon on its ſide, they look upon very able to ſupport itſelf, and do, therefore, applaud their Iriſh fellow-ſubjects for their caution. It is a ſtrong argument againſt ſuffering Popery to continue in Ireland, that the progreſs of every good thing is thereby moſt amazingly retarded; arts and manufactures are born down by the lazineſs and want of decent œconomy, which forms the indelible character of that religion, except in France, where the natural vivacity

of the people does, in ſome meaſure, check its pernicious tendency; but a much ſtronger it is, that government, that the conſtitution is particularly affected by the evils which thence enſue, nor can it partake of the free ſpirit of Engliſh government, altho' the body and members are preciſely the ſame; the people, like thoſe of England, ſhare in the legiſlature, by ſending repreſentatives to parliament; but to a true conſtitutional repreſentation, a ſtrong relation between the conſtituent and the conſtituted is abſolutely neceſſary, in order to retain the repreſentative within the bounds of duty, and oblige him to hold it ever in remembrance, that he is ſent to parliament, not for his own private advantage, but for that of the publick; the more conſiderable the number of electors, the more reſpectable muſt they be in the eyes of the elected, and the more cautious will the latter be of neglecting or betraying their cauſe: but whilſt the Popiſh religion prevails, as to numbers, the body of the people are not repreſented, the individuals of that perſuaſion, lying to a man, under a legal diſability of voting at elections; members are ſent up to parliament by a few Proteſtant freeholders, ſo few, as to challenge very little reſpect in the eyes of men, whoſe ſeats in the houſe have no certain limitation of time, and theſe ſo eaſily managed, that it is very doubtful, whether the ſcandalous

neglect

neglect of propagating true religion, which has appeared in the leading men of that kingdom, has not proceeded from a notion that the diffusion of it through the people, would give them such a weight and authority, as may exact a greater attention from those who have occasion for their favour, than has been hitherto found necessary; and it is not improbable, that a consideration how much the emoluments of a free trade in Ireland, must be enjoyed by a body of men, who are natural enemies to liberty and the present family, may furnish motives to England, and for ought I can see, very reasonable ones, for continuing that kingdom under its present commercial restraints.

Since then, it is evident, that the gentlemen of Ireland, either through a want of proper training to a more extensive plan of politicks, or from too close attention to their present apparent interests, shew a reluctance in advancing their native country to such a stage towards perfection, as may bring it to be of greater use in the general scheme. It is most incumbent upon England, from a principle of self-preservation, to observe it more attentively, as a quarter, by which, in case of neglect, they are likely to receive a most deadly blow *.

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* Probabiy no part of Roman policy was more liable to censure, than their omitting to unite Sicily with Italy, they

The conſtitution of Great Britain has, from cauſes very obvious, taken ſince the revolution a dangerous turn to ariſtocracy, inſomuch, that it is amazing to hear authors of high reputation complain of its tendency to democracy; the Houſe of Commons, it is true, are ſuppoſed to hold the ſtrings of the national purſe: but the majority of that houſe, is certainly formed of men, recommended in counties, but principally in boroughs, by lords; if they are therefore ſeptennially created to repreſent the people by the lords, their political opinions and conduct, muſt depend upon thoſe who create them; the lower houſe is loſt in the upper, and far from being diſtinct branches of legiſlature, they are virtually, altho' not yet nominally, the ſame; was not this the caſe, all places of truſt and profit would not be poſſeſſed by lords, their relations and dependants: neither as to capacity or induſtry, can they claim any ſuperiority; and his Majeſty would not be leſs reſpectfully ſerved, by men who ſtood ſingly on their perſonal merit and loyalty, than by thoſe who are inflated by their own power, or by the conſequence and power of thoſe who recom-

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they would have thereby taken from many bad citizens an opportunity of becoming rich, and prevented the dreadful inſurrections of their ſlaves, which lawleſs oppreſſion of the wealthy landed intereſt of the iſland did occaſion.

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mend them; but the general bad effects of this evil, being not immediately to my purpoſe, let us ſee how prejudicial it has proved to the intereſts of the country I ſpeak of. The Lieutenancy of Ireland, is conſigned of late years, to perſons of the firſt rank and title only, and altho' an office upon which depends the advancement of arts, the reformation of religion, and the eſtabliſhment of government in that kingdom; yet, to the carrying forward of theſe really important works, the ſuper-intendancy of a Lord Lieutenant cannot be obtained for more than ſix months out of twenty-four; ſome, indeed, condeſcend to go over a ſecond time; ſome, out of a conſciouſneſs of miſbehaviour, are afraid to venture, and yet their impatience to continue there, does not proceed from any diſlike to the profits of the employment, as they preſs moſt eagerly at home for every lucrative one, nor from a deſire of avoiding the fatigues of a court, for their ambition diſcloſes itſelf, in the encouragement given to their own little levies at their reſpective palaces in Weſtminſter, where their dependants pay a conſtant attendance; nor from an apprehenſion of loſing the royal favour during abſence, like the unfortunate Eſſex, but it proceeds from their apprehenſion of loſing their Engliſh voters in the houſe, and at elections for members and magiſtrates; ſo that were it poſſible to confine the nobility

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to the conſtitutional range which the law preſcribes, a double advantage would thence ariſe to Ireland ; the preſence of thoſe noble perſonages appointed by his Majeſty to be their guardians and protectors againſt domeſtick oppreſſion, and that the younger ſons of the gentlemen of the kingdom, would then enjoy a more reaſonable proportion of the employments, military, civil and eccleſiaſtick, which their country ſo plentifully maintains, than they can in the preſent ſituation of affairs, whilſt their governors are obliged to beſtow them upon their Engliſh dependants, whoſe friends and relations have engaged in ſupporting their parliamentary influence at home : and here your Lordſhip ſees a great part of the wealth of one iſland, directed to the ruin of the liberties of the other——But to proceed, if the chief governor was to continue in the kingdom, he might be at leiſure to make progreſſes, ſee whether the people were governed or oppreſſed, and what was the true and general ſenſe of the nation ; he would there behold the Proteſtant religion expiring thro' the lazineſs of our prieſts, and an unwearied application in thoſe of the enemy ; the internal rule of the kingdom or its police, by which the manners of a people are principally formed, intruſted to magiſtrates, whoſe only recommendation is a blind obedience to the will of thoſe, who enjoy the derivative power

power under the chief governor, and a burning zeal for extending their intereſts at every election; he would ſee the money raiſed upon the people for encouraging manufactures, and eſtabliſhing the moſt deſirable convenience of an inland navigation, perverted to the vile purpoſes of acquiring a dominion over boroughs, by jobbing the management of the works to thoſe who are able to lend their aſſiſtance therein; if he continued his reſidence in the kingdom, he would diſcover laws to have been enacted, which (contrary to all thoſe rules laid down by reaſon and publick utility for the direction of legiſlature) are reſpective in their nature, and aſſume for their object tranſactions and agreements, which had an exiſtence previous to any notion of making ſuch laws, with a view to encreaſe the private fortune of ſome parliamentary leaders, or ſcreen ſome of their favorite tools from the juſt demands of their fellow-ſubjects; he would ſee theſe leaders profeſſing whigiſh revolution principles, and, indeed, procuring and continuing to themſelves much Proteſtant popularity by ſuch appearances, yet, taking every indirect method of ſubverting theſe principles, by corrupting univerſally, and eraſing from the minds of their countrymen, every impreſſion of honour and regard to liberty; he would ſee the common people labouring under all the miſeries of poverty, of ſlavery, and daily

ſinking from bad to worſe; and he would lay the true ſtate of that unfortune kingdom before his Majeſty, from whoſe wiſdom and goodneſs it could not fail of redreſs.

But if an unbounded attention to their parliamentary concerns, has ſo entirely engroſſed the body of the Britiſh nobility, as to render it impoſſible to find thoſe amongſt them, who will dedicate their time to a real diſcharge of their duty as a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; many commoners may be found, who with great juſtice, will think themſelves highly honoured by the office, even under that *ſevere condition* of doing their duty: the office derives no luſtre from the perſon, but the perſon from the office; a rule, which will hold even with kings. It is allowed, that to the exerciſe of an office in the treaſury, admiralty, or the other departments of government, ſome experience and application are required, but for the government of a kingdom, which contains above two millions of inhabitants, ſupports, as I am informed, twenty thouſand men, with placemen and penſioners beyond number, a nobleman becomes inſtantaneouſly qualified; and when he thinks proper to be weary of his charge, his ſucceſſor becomes as ſuddenly, and as miraculouſly qualified as he. If a country is ſo far removed from the reſidence of the ſovereign, that he cannot ſee with his own eyes the real ſtate of that country; and

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if the indolence or avocation of viceroys are ſuch, that they will not ſee with their own eyes, but muſt receive the *repreſentations*, which they lay before Majeſty, from men whoſe private intereſt it is, that every thing ſhould be *miſrepreſented*; then will a few families of large fortunes, and extenſive connexions, play off the king againſt the people, and the people againſt the king, and with the greateſt ſucceſs, provided they are ſtrengthened by an Engliſh intereſt, they will appear to the people poſſeſſed of the royal confidence, from the power they are ſeen to have of beſtowing ſome trifling civil employments, at times, a commiſſion in the army, and upon extraordinary occaſions, perhaps, a biſhoprick; and the loyal deportment of the people will, by a moſt ſcandalous impoſition, be imputed not to its real cauſe, a thorough *ſenſe of their duty, and an unalterable affection to their Prince*, but to the addreſs and ingenious management of theſe leaders; this, I may venture to undertake, is the hinge upon which Iriſh government has long turned, and the conſequence muſt be an abſolute vaſſalage in that country, and an entire obſtruction of all intercourſe between King and people; the feelings of allegiance will become faint; dependance, fear, adoration of their domeſtick idols, will take place, and theſe idols will have it in their power at length, to extort from their

maſter whatever ſpecies of penſion, or gratification, they, in the plenitude of their inſolence, ſhall think proper to demand.

However, ſince the age in which we live is ſuch, that an unſocial, contracted ſelfiſhneſs, appears the ſtrongeſt line in its character, I ſhould not, my Lord, be ſurprized to hear it urged, in oppoſition to my ſpeculations; *If Ireland is of ſo great moment, ſo fruitful in ſoil, its inhabitants ſo numerous, with ſuch varicty of other advantages*, why ſhall it not take care of itſelf? to this it may be ſufficient to reply, that from her political dependance upon England, ſhe cannot venture to undertake any buſineſs of weight, or of conſiderable import to herſelf, without the conſent of England, bold *ſtrokes of reformation come from the arm which is powerful and unconſtrained*; that Ireland, backward as ſhe is in copying from England, whatever may be uſeful and praiſe-worthy, has been moſt ſingularly docile in the ſcience of cabal and domeſtick intrigue, nor are her ſons leſs expert in bribery and corruption, than the managers of the moſt diſputed borough in England: we have, therefore, rendered them both unfit and undiſpoſed to reform themſelves, whilſt their ſubordination, had they been never ſo well diſpoſed, has put it entirely out of their power; but if this reply proves inſufficient, arguments drawn from love of ſelf, muſt have their due

weight,

weight; and let us recollect, that a time may come, when ſome powerful ſtate, leſs indifferent about the advantages which nature offers, may think ſeriouſly of that country, which we look upon as unmeriting our notice; that the miſconduct of governors, or the under agents of governors, may create an indifference in the minds of the people, whether they live under an Iriſh Lord Lieutenant, a French commandant, or a Spaniſh viceroy; that the united diſaffections of the inhabitants, both Proteſtant and Papiſt, muſt yield great encouragement to foreign attempts to invade them, and almoſt certain ſtability to their invaſions; and that in ſome future luxurious, degenerate age, a Hawke or Kepple may not appear, whoſe matchleſs intrepidity ſhall brave the dangers of rocks and ſhoals, to deſtroy the deſtined invaders, perhaps, the conquerors.

OUR PLANTATIONS have formed the ſubject of ſo much debate and altercation of late, that little new, and therefore very little intereſting, can be now advanced upon that head; yet how will this matter appear, upon trial by that real touchſtone of all political diſquiſitions, *improvement of manners and publick ſecurity?* Moral perfection, or the neareſt poſſible approaches thereunto, is indiſputably the firſt, and moſt worthy end of all our purſuits; and yet defence againſt external violence, protection of the community engages,

engages, and with reaſon, almoſt an equal ſhare of our attention, being that, without which, an opportunity of affecting the former is abſolutely loſt; arts, ſciences, and pure religion, no more than eloquence *, can have their natural growth, amidſt the ſtrugglings for liberty, amidſt the ſhouts of conqueſt, or, indeed, amidſt the fears and apprehenſions of being conquered; to this purpoſe is required a ſteady, ſettled, unpalliable temper in the ſtate, for which reaſon, many ſmall conſiderations muſt give way to this ſingle great one; agreeable, therefore, to this principle, I cannot avoid declaring, that our American fellow-ſubjects have not maturely conſidered how trifling are the reſtrictions of the mother country, when weighed againſt the advantages, which that ſame mother country has afforded them; and I conſider every writer who would whet the edge of their appetites, to a higher degree of keenneſs, for trade and wealth, as the general enemy, who would raiſe them too high in their own opinions, and leſſen, in their eyes, the obligations they muſt owe to England: they talk of having carried *their fortunes from England to make their ſettlements*; ſome particular men might have done ſo, but,

* Neque enim in conſtituentibus rempublicam, nec in bella gerentibus, nec regum dominatione devinctis, naſci cupiditas dicendi poreſt. Cicero de Oratore.

nothing

nothing is more certain, or better known, than that neceſſity has been the cauſe of almoſt every emigration that has happened, and that the beginnings of moſt American properties were remarkably ſlender: by a free and beneficial trade, well protected by Britiſh navies, they have, indeed, accompliſhed a moſt rapid growth, to which their own much to be applauded care and induſtry has largely contributed.——The riſques, *they ſay, they have run in making their ſettlements* cannot, as they pretend, be admitted as done with a view of *ſerving the mother country*, becauſe, in general, countries are allowed to ſuffer rather, by the exportation of their wealth and inhabitants, and ſo would England, did not the peculiarity of its naval and commercial circumſtances, ſo ſingularly diſtinguiſh it from Spain and all other countries; did not its dominion of the ſeas, ſo facilitate the intercourſe between every branch of its empire, that any of its inhabitants, or the property of any of its inhabitants, may, as it were by magick, virtually and in effect, appear wherever they require. Now, as to their obligations to Britain, admitting that no pecuniary aids had been advanced towards eſtabliſhing their ſettlements, how can they diſcharge themſelves of the obligation of having received from England a body of excellent laws, ready to be tranſcribed; a ſet of ſocial improved manners, ready to be tranſ-

tranſplanted ; arts and ſciences ; all which, if raiſed from the ſeed, would have a tedious, and interrupted growth in the wilds of America ? If we add to this, that reſpect which a ſubject of England muſt challenge, in what ſituation ſoever, which no ſmall colony could pretend to maintain, it will be impoſſible to liſten with patience, to the man, who would refine away theſe obligations, by alledging that England has acted from narrow motives, in order to ſtrengthen herſelf : an undutiful child, may tell his father, that he begot him to pleaſe himſelf ; that he cheriſhed him, that he fixed him and his fortunes in the world, merely to gratify his parental feelings ; and upon this falſe reaſoning, impiouſly hold himſelf acquitted of every duty ; but nature declares againſt him ; and altho' no ingratitude can dwell where there is a reciprocation of good offices, yet, he who receives the firſt act of kindneſs, will ever remain the moſt obliged.

No man entertains a more cordial affection for our fellow-ſubjects of America than I do ; their emotions in favour of liberty are generous and praiſe-worthy, but muſt ſtill be of opinion, that they have not, as yet, conceived (ſo generally as may be wiſhed) notions of government ſufficiently digeſted and extenſive ; ſince their anceſtors made their emigrations, liberty has received many and great improvements ; the rude wild ſtock,

hurried

hurried by ſcandalous perſecutions at home, they haſtily plucked from the mother ſoil; it ſtruck ſtrong roots, and vigorouſly flouriſhed in their new congenial clime; but it was at the revolution, the generous well-flavoured fruit was engrafted, which I fear, no part of the Britiſh empire, except England, has yet brought themſelves properly to reliſh.

A ſacred and inviolable right of taxing themſelves, and regulating their own affairs, without any exception, for what unforeſeen dangers and ſudden emergencies may produce, has been contended for with too great a latitude; the colonies muſt now conſider themſelves as a part inſeparable from the grand body of the Britiſh empire, and as ſuch, an evil happening to that part, may ſpread itſelf to the whole, as a ſore in any particular member, may cauſe a general mortification; inattention to, or bad management of the plantations, may let in an evil, which would, in its conſequences, bring the exiſtence of Great-Britain into danger; a moment's deliberation, then, muſt ſurely fix the relative weight of Britiſh trade, glory, and influence, to that of American pure natural liberty, and abſolute, uncontroulable independance. The Americans, being the ſubject of the preſent debates, becauſe they happen to be more immediately concerned, declare themſelves the proper judges upon

the occaſion, but altho' moſt *immediately* concerned, they do not furniſh the object of *greateſt* concern; Britiſh ſafety, power and trade, furniſh this grand object: Britain, therefore, is the more competent judge, and it would be unreaſonable to expect, that any wiſe adminiſtration, after the warnings already received from the indolent deportment of the colonies at the beginning of the late war, would ſuffer conſiderations of ſo high a nature, to reſt upon the determinations of men, whoſe neglect has been already ſo juſtly cenſured, from whoſe torpid ſullenneſs and obſtinacy, the enemy did confeſſedly derive ſuch advantage. Shall it depend upon the reſolutions of a Philadelphian aſſembly, whether our fellow-ſubjects ſhall arm in defence of liberty and property? Does the fate of a whole continent bear any proportion to an almoſt imperceptible encroachment upon the important privilege of an American, deliberating for a year or two, whether he will pay ſix-pence in the pound, to ſave himſelf and family from perdition? A provincial aſſembly is very capable of determining upon what is moſt expedient for their own internal rule, what moſt advantageous to their trade; but when the great ſcheme of governing all the parts of an extenſive community, when the relation in which they ſtand to this community is to be conſidered, then their capacities begin to narrow

narrow in my eſtimation, and they come to ſhew themſelves in a ſphere of debate, for which I can, by no means, think them qualified. Why, ſays an individual, fired with a wild ſpirit of liberty, ſhall I give up that power which nature has beſtowed upon me, of acting and thinking for myſelf? Why, ſays an advocate for ſociety, ſhall you be protected by ſociety in your property and perſon, in the exerciſe of virtuous liberty, which is a power of doing, not what you will, but what you ought to will? If no individual then, may ſet up his ſingle opinion and ſtrong cravings for crude liberty, where ſocial good is concerned, if he is not allowed to diſcern ſo clearly, whether theſe loud calls of nature, about which he makes ſo great a parade, may not interfere with, and obſtruct ſome moral and ſocial end; no more is any diſtinct part of an empire, intitled to carve for itſelf, and lay it down as an invariable maxim, that on no occaſion whatſoever are they to be governed, by rules to which they have not conſented; much reſpect, therefore, is due to the opinion of Great-Britain, in that material point of regulating a provincial defence, and whenever it ſhall be urged, that the Americans are moſt competent to judge of the quantity of taxation, or the method of applying the taxes, and that a want of provincial defence, muſt be more immediately and ſenſibly felt by

themſelves, than by thoſe who are far removed from the ſcene of American affairs; when they plead the great law of nature and of liberty, to any claim of Britain to ſuperintend their affairs, I reply, the ideas of ſocial liberty in diametrical oppoſition to their allegations, I aver, that they are not the moſt competent judges of the expediency of a domeſtick defence; and I eſtabliſh my averment, by their having already ſhewn themſelves incompetent, in never producing any one general plan for that purpoſe, from the peace of Utrecht to the war of 1756; inſomuch, that altho' ten times the number of our enemy, they would have been abſolutely driven off the continent, were it not for the ſeaſonable interpoſition of England, and all this, from a peeviſh reluctance to aſſociate and unite, a reluctance, to ſacrifice a ſmall part of their own will and pleaſure, to peace and ſecurity, which reluctance, they are diſpoſed to compliment, with the honourable appellation of liberty.

If then, the American colonies, have manifeſted a neglect to make the neceſſary proviſion for their own defence, and that Britain may ſuffer through this neglect, ſhe is powerfully warranted in proceeding againſt a probability of any future ſituation of thoſe colonies, ſo dangerous, ſo productive of heavy expence, as that we have lately beheld. It was, indeed, the duty of the colonies, to anticipate

ticipate the cares of the mother country, and make, after the example of Ireland, ſuch a military eſtabliſhment as may tend to diſcourage any attempts of an enemy, and not furniſh, by their remiſneſs, a Britiſh adminiſtration, with even an excuſe for obtruding their kind offices upon them: they ſhould conſider the various and fluctuating nature of Britiſh councils; and that power, from the free nature of our government, may be ſometimes in the hands of men, who are delighted in obliging and ſtrengthening our enemies, in ill-treating and diſguſting our friends, and who, when they accidentally engage in carrying even a neceſſary meaſure into execution, ſtumble upon ſome mode of doing it, which not only deſtroys every end and advantage which may ariſe from it, but is alſo productive of univerſal murmurs and diſſatisfaction; but of all things, ſhould they beware of beholding our miniſterial blunders, in the light of national acts, and thence, perhaps, conceive a diſlike or alienation of affection from their Britiſh fellow-ſubjects. The ſenſe of this nation is neither unjuſt, unreaſonable, or oppreſſive; but no human wiſdom will, I fear, be ever able to ſecure us againſt falling ſometimes into the hands of ſuch wretches, as thoſe who made the peace of Utrecht or of Verſailles.

On the other ſide, my Lord, it muſt be admitted, that the mother country has not en-

entirely acquitted herſelf in the diſcharge of her parental offices. It is certainly the duty of thoſe, whom Providence has commiſſioned by conferring great powers on them, for promoting the welfare of the human ſpecies, to watch and attend to the changes of circumſtance, which muſt happen to all earthly things, and frame ſuch inſtitutions, as may anſwer (ſo far as human prudence can provide) to the variety of caſes which may ariſe; new circumſtances produce new ſyſtems. When a perſonal property began to grow conſiderable in England, our anceſtors thought proper immediately to enact ſuch laws, as might facilitate alienations; they had recourſe to the civil codes, and thence they brought the ſtatute of will of diſtributions, and adopted ſuch a portion of the ſpirit of Roman juriſprudence, as may anſwer the exigency. But, with regard to colonies, ſo diſtinguiſhed is Great Britain, ſo critically diſtinguiſhed, by a complication, of naval, of lauded, of commercial, of military conſiderations, from every ancient ſtate; that inſtitutions drawn from Tyre, from Carthage, from Rome, or from Rhodes, can never anſwer the preſent occaſion; and legiſlature muſt inveſtigate, thro' the walks of nature, morals of utility, and of preſent convenience, ſuch truths as may afford a ground work for this neceſſary undertaking; our common law, revered with juſtice for its honeſt ſimplicity,

plicity affords no reſources in ſo variegated a ſubject; nor could our Gothick fore-fathers poſſibly foreſee the aſtoniſhing turn, which this kingdom has taken to commercial adventure, ſince the reign of Henry the Seventh, occaſioned by a moſt unexpected event, the diſcovery of a new world; they could not foreſee the emigration of colonies to this new world, and could, therefore, never think of framing any calculation for ſuch a contingency: why, then, look into the laws in being, for any aids upon this occaſion? A plauſible and ſagacious lawyer, may diſcover ſomething in his books analogous, or what he thinks, and would perſuade the world is analogous to the caſe of our colonies, propoſed to him for ſerious conſideration; he fancies it a corporation, for inſtance, and from henceforth, every American queſtion, comes to be examined by principles laid down for directing a corporate legiſlature; that is, becauſe a Britiſh corporation has delegated their natural original right of legiſlature, to thoſe who repreſent them in parliament, and thereby veſted in that aſſembly, a power of controuling their corporate acts: our colonies, therefore, who not being called upon, make no returns of members to the Britiſh parliament, are ſubject to a like controul, this is not reaſon, either plain or refined, either natural or artificial, and therefore cannot be law; in truth, the

opinions

opinions of the gentlemen of the long robe, are not to be admitted, in an affair, ſo much above their level, for this would, indeed, be an erecting of courts, intended for explication of the laws in being, into actual legiſlatures; a power, very lately rejected by, perhaps, one * of the wiſeſt and moſt modeſt judges, that ever adorned a bench; and, in a caſe, where the exerciſe of ſuch a power would be readily excuſed, being in vindication of the liberty of the ſubject. But, my Lord, the laborious ſtrainings of our lawyers, in applying their learning to American affairs, will never produce any thing adequate to this grand occaſion; our colonies are inſenſibly grown into a reſpectable importance, and demand the moſt ſolemn conſideration of legiſlature, of wiſe, of honeſt legiſlature; and, I am perſuaded, that the preſent matter deſerves treaties, commiſſioners, and every other ſolemnity, preceding the act which united theſe kingdoms; we ſhould conciliate the good-will of our fellow-ſubjects, who live at a diſtance, as warmly as that of thoſe who are nearer home, provoke neither to reſentments, by injury or oppreſſion, but ever remember, that Egina and Æubea were eaſily brought to a ſenſe of duty, by the Athenians, whenever they became turbulent; but

* Judgment delivered by Lord Camden, in the caſe of Entick and the Meſſengers, laſt day of Michaelmas term, 1765.

when

when they carried their arms againſt Greeks, who were more diſtant, the ruin of their power was the immediate conſequence, and their greatneſs expired at Syracuſe *.

Had Britain been bleſſed with a continuance of that adminiſtration, which carried her military glory to ſo exalted an height, in the laſt war, had that miniſtry, I ſay, been permitted to conclude a ſound and healthy peace; upon that firm baſis, by ſuch able political builders, would have been raiſed a pile, compoſed of all our colonies and dependencies, whoſe ſtrength, beauty, and magnificence, would be the envy and admiration of the world; theſe wiſe and virtuous patriots, would have ſhewn talents for peace, equal to thoſe they had diſplayed for war, and our conqueſts, inſtead of being the cauſe of diſſentions and animoſities, between his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, would long ſince have turned to great and laſting account: commiſſioners would be formally appointed to examine minutely into the ſtate of our colonies; a proper method taken for raiſing ſupplies to anſwer the expences of government; taxations be laid, in a manner, the leaſt grievous to the ſubject, and moſt conſiſtent with ſocial liberty; in ſhort, that gradual aſſimilation with the mother country, ſo much to be deſired by all its deſcendants, would be at length brought about;

* The Syracuſans were a Dorick colony.

for though war is the ſeaſon of danger, yet, is it very eaſily demonſtrated, that the miniſter of peace is as much above the miniſter of war, as the ends are more worthy than the means; that is, when the great and neceſſary works of peace are properly attended to; but when peace is made, in order to generate matter for new war; then, indeed, the artful wretch, who can deceive his king, corrupt, debaſe, and oppreſs the people, will anſwer every purpoſe; no neceſſity for integrity or wiſdom remains, where cunning and deceit are found to be all-ſufficient.

I am,

My LORD, *&c.*

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A SHORT

HISTORY

OF THE

Preſent Miniſtry.

IN A LETTER, &c.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOU have long deſired, and I will give you, in the beſt manner I can, a ſhort HISTORY of the CONDUCT of the PRESENT MINISTERS, RESPECTING

the AMERICAN STAMP-ACT. As to the ſtyle, I ſhall not take much pains; but as to the *facts*, you may depend upon them.

It is now about two years ago, ſince the Houſe of Commons came to a reſolution, with regard to the *right* of laying taxes in America. Every body then knew, and the Miniſter of that time made no ſecret of declaring it, that that reſolution was the forerunner of a tax. The gentlemen abovementioned, were then in oppoſition. They were hanging out the ſtandard of Patriotiſm, and *affecting* to fight under it. Yet they did not oppoſe this reſolution; momentous as it manifeſtly appeared to be, in laying not only the foundation of the

Stamp

Stamp Tax (which was known to be then in agitation) but of *any*, and of *every other Tax which might follow*, and involving, as it certainly did, " concerns of the moſt extreme " magnitude," and of the higheſt importance to both Great-Britain and America. It ſeemed to all, to be a clear thing; for the whole were unanimous. It was not until the following ſeſſion, that the Bill for levying a Stamp Duty was brought in. So that there was ſufficient time given to theſe ſuppoſed Patriots, for collecting all the arguments and ſentiments, of all the intereſted, and wiſeſt perſons, on both ſides the Atalantic. But they neglected making any uſe of this great opportunity; though, if they had really wiſhed to ſerve

America, as they now falſely pretend, they certainly would not. And this much, at leaſt, muſt, or ought, to be ſaid in behalf of the late Miniſtry, whom I by no means intend to vindicate in this meaſure, that very few Acts have at any time been paſſed with ſuch *unuſual deliberation.* Of courſe then, with the greater contempt ought we to look upon a ſet of men, who are now making a parade of pouring forth their MOCK-SENTIMENTS, and arraigning the propriety of a meaſure, which they had not ſpirit to oppoſe, in the proper ſeaſon; notwithſtanding the moſt reaſonable allowance of time, for awakening their courage, if they ever had any; and for obtaining intelligence and digeſting ideas. But the truth

is,

is, the greateſt part of them were of the Miniſter's opinion, and have ſince changed their ſentiments for the promotion of their intereſts.

Very little oppoſition therefore was made to the Bill: very few things were ſaid, and there was no diviſion. This was in one place. In another, ſo ſtrong was the unanimity, that there was not even a ſingle ſyllable uttered againſt it. It is true, ſome of the old leaven, who call themſelves *Whigs*, but who are in fact ſo corrupt and daſtardly, that they are the abuſers of any name, but that of *time-ſervers*, did affect to ſuggeſt to a certain noble Lord, ſomething like a *feint* of oppoſition to the Bill. But this noble Lord, who was ſingle in the

ſup-

ſupport of public Liberty, in the hour of danger, and when none other of the party had virtue to appear; whoſe intrepidity on that occaſion was ſuch, that his real friends began to tremble for his ſafety; who was likewiſe ſingle in ſuſtaining with his purſe the whole weight of that public cauſe; and who preſerved, as far, and as long, as ONE MAN could, unanimity in ſuch a contaminated ſet: from whoſe popularity of character, deſintereſted conduct, and high eſteem with the Public, they borrowed that *ſhadow* of Patriotiſm, which they now ſo aukwardly affect to wear, after having parted with all pretenſions to the *ſubſtance*, by the moſt atrocious and moſt abandoned acts of intended and attempted TREACHERY;

RY; which being now known, will mark them with infamy to their graves. I ſay, this noble Lord, not having forgot the ſcandalous leagues they had entered into with a certain prerogative lawyer, ſince dead, to BETRAY the cauſe; and knowing their deſires to extend no further than the emoluments of office*; and not doubting the

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* In this place, I muſt beg leave to make a little digreſſion, and offer to your conſideration, a few QUERIES; which, I believe, the preſent Miniſters can ſolve without any difficulty.

Who, immediately, upon the moſt flagrant and wanton violations of the ſacred liberties of Engliſhmen, in the caſe of Mr. Wilkes, eagerly paid their compliments to a certain great Perſon; hoping to get good Places by a ſcandalous *deſertion* of their friends, and the Public, with whom they then paſſed for Patriots, and by an *offered Sacrifice* (for ſuch *Deſertion* at that critical hour was nothing leſs) of the man who had ſuffered in their ſervice,

and

the *right* of Parliament, nor perhaps, ſeeing in the Bill itſelf ſufficient ground for conteſt; and this laſt

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and who was then combating with the illegal and uſurped power of office?

Who, ſoon after, finding this *offered Treachery* inſufficient for their purpoſes, entered into a league with a certain Prerogative Lawyer, ſince dead, to UPHOLD and DEFEND, what they then called the *neceſſity* and *legality* of *General Warrants*?

Who likewiſe, and for the ſame reaſon, entered into a league with the ſame Prerogative Lawyer, to vote away *Privilege* in the caſe of a ſeditious libel?

Who were afterwards compelled to renounce theſe, if poſſible, more than perfidious and infamous engagements, by the ſtrength and popularity of the cauſe, which was carried on by other people; particularly by one noble Lord, of real worth and unſullied honour, who publicly ſtepped forward, and with his perſon, as well as his purſe, which was always open on this occaſion, bravely and generouſly attacked the monſter of ſtate tyranny, which for a ſeries of years had fattened on the rights of Engliſhmen, under the leaders of the preſent Miniſtry; and for doing which, he was deſerted by the Party, but applauded by every true Engliſhman?

Did

laſt reaſon has been acknowledged by the beſt American advocates, for, ſay they, " Though the Stamp " Duty has been the oſtenſible " cauſe of the late riots, yet that " in reality is but a *ſmall part* of " their grievance:" (vide *True Intereſt*, and ſeveral other late Pamphlets.) Therefore he did not chuſe to oppoſe, merely for the ſake of oppoſition: and the others,

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Did the D. of N. ſign the proteſt upon priliege; and if not, why?

Who, pretending to oppoſe the influence of the Favourite, becauſe he repeatedly refuſed to accept of them, did, upon the firſt proſpect of vacancies, ſolicit and ſupplicate, in the moſt preſſing and abject manner, to go into *any offices*, upon *any terms*, with Lord N. at the head of the Treaſury?

If there be any who have been guilty of theſe real and proffered inſtances of the moſt ſcandalous and infamous PERFIDY; are they fit to be truſted, in any buſineſs, or upon any occaſion whatever? Ought they not rather to be abhorred by every honeſt man?

who had but barely ſuggeſted it, did it only for the *name*, not for the *ſervice* of the thing; and durſt not *ſeparately* hazard their own inſignificance againſt a meaſure, the rectitude or propriety of which they did not attempt to diſprove. ——It is likewiſe true, that there were ſome petitions againſt it, but they going more againſt the *right*, than any other point, were not, nor indeed could not, be admitted.

Now all this was long before the reconciliation between the noble Lord and his Brother; or before that event was even thought of. So that it cannot be aſſerted, without the moſt manifeſt violation of truth, that the noble Lord changed

ed his opinion in compliment to his relation, or the temper of the times; for he has been UNIFORMLY THE SAME: which is more than can be ſaid of the gentlemen at preſent in office.

It is a fact which they cannot deny, and can be too well atteſted for them to attempt to refute, that ſo eager were they for great ſalaries, they made no heſitation of deſerting their friends, and did not even wait to make any ſtipulations whatever. The affairs of the nation, and all public and private buſineſs, were left to the chapter of accidents. So that it is clear, they went into offices merely for the emoluments of them; and that America with them never was an object.

And to put this aſſertion beyond all doubt, we need only take a ſhort review of their ſubſequent conduct ; and we ſhall find, that the ſame manifeſt diffidence and unpardonable neglect, which governed them when in oppoſition, to have guided them when in office ; with this difference as to the *motive* only, that before their acceptance, they thought mildneſs in their meaſures, and a forbearance to ſtand forward upon any public ground, or in ſupport of any public cauſe, the beſt way to get to St. James's : and having, to the aſtoniſhment of mankind, by deſerting their friends, and turning their backs upon all thoſe who had ſerved them, at length arrived there ; they thought a ſervile compliance with every tem-

temporary humour, and a ſcandalous proſtration and the moſt ſincere oblations, at the ſhrine of the Favourite, which they repeatedly offered, and he has hitherto repeatedly refuſed to accept; the beſt means of ſtaying there.

Accordingly we find, that although it was under their adminiſtration that the firſt advices came from America, of the general and violent oppoſition to the Stamp Act; and although the adjuſtment of this buſineſs was of the higheſt importance to both Great-Britain and America, and the very nature of it ſo conſequential and preſſing, that both countries might be ruined by DELAY: yet with the ſtrongeſt and fulleſt information of the be-

behaviour of the Americans before them; with their eyes open, as to a proſpect of the terrible conſequences which preſented themſelves before theſe unfeeling Miniſters; who knowing, or might have known, if they ever read the Stamp Act, that it was to take place on the firſt day of laſt November; and that a ſuſpenſion of this moſt important conſideration, muſt inevitably occaſion an almoſt total ſtagnation of trade: I ſay, notwithſtanding all theſe great and forcible reaſons for calling the Parliament; yet did they put off the meeting of that Aſſembly for buſineſs, until the middle of January. And it was not until above ſeven weeks after, that the repeal of the Stamp Act was even believed to be certain.

The

The timidity with which they were ſeized, owing to a continual dread of loſing their places; and the fluctuation and contrariety of opinions amongſt them, owing to the heterogeneous mixture of which they are compoſed; were the true cauſes of that moſt injurious and moſt unpardonable DELAY: for it is a fact well known, that ſometimes they were for enforcing the Act, (and by poſtponing the conſideration of it, they undoubtedly meant that it ſhould enforce itſelf) ſometimes they were for ſuſpending it, at other times for repealing it, and never unanimous in any thing; until the Great Commoner ſanctified the revolt of America, and having by a doctrine, which they had not ſpirit to either adopt or oppoſe,

and

and by which they were ſtruck with diſmay and confuſion, laid the foundation of a total ſeparation between Great-Britain and the Colonies, and in them, of an abſolute independence of the Mother Country; he at length fixed them in the act of repeal.

The ſuſpence and imbecility on this ſide the water, encouraged the ferment on the other: hence aroſe thoſe conditions to the Britiſh merchants and traders, of not ſending any goods, *unleſs the Stamp Act was repealed.* And hence thoſe many inflammatory publications, which our DELAY furniſhed ſuch an opportunity for writing and propagating throughout the Colonies: likewiſe that general union of

the

the Colonies; and above all, that repeated denial of right, which nothing can now erafe, and which has for ever wounded the Majefty of England, and planted thorns under the pillow of our Sovereign.

Whether the Stamp Act was originally, or whether the repeal of it now, be meafures either prudent or conſiſtent, I will not fay any thing, becauſe greater authority will ſoon determine both. But I hope every body who knows the few facts I have here thrown together, or to whom you may think proper to read this paper, will readily agree with me, in thinking and faying, that the diſtreſſes of Great-Britain and America, ſo far as relates to the Stamp Act, have not only been

wholly occaſioned, but moſt *wantonly*, *cruelly* and *unneceſſarily aggravated* by the timidity, incapacity and neglect of the preſent adminiſtration. Had they called the Parliament at the proper time, none of the late diſturbances would have happened; nor that train of evil conſequences have followed, which their DELAY ſeems to have been contrived to promote.

As this crime was committed by *deſign*, ſo the perſons guilty of it, are deſerving the moſt bitter abhorrence of all true friends of their country: and if ever any miniſterial conduct deſerved an exemplary cenſure, this moſt certainly does; by a diſcharge of them from thoſe offices, the great duties of which they

they have ſo flagrantly abuſed, and a ſtigma of their incapacity for ever holding them again.

I am,

My dear Friend, &c. &c.

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